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FOREWORD

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My aim has been to construct the history of Shivaji and his forefathers with original materials obtained through earnest and scrupulous research, cautiously sifted and impartially used. For the realization of this object, I have discarded anecdotic and fragmentary history, and mainly relied on the genuine and well-authenticated facts met with in the Indian and European records. Being fully equipped with stern facts, the reader will be able to judge for himself the validity of my conclusions and will correct the assertions of various historians, if these should seem unduly categorical.

I wish to express my deep sense of obligation to Their Highnesses, the Maharajas of Baroda, Indore, Kolhapur, and the Rajasaheb of Mudhol for their kind patronage. It gives me much pleasure to acknowledge with gratitude the valuable assistance received from the Superintendent of Records, India Office, London; Directors of the Archives at Batavia and the Hague; the Superintendent of the Record Office, Bombay; the Secretaries of the Shrishiva Charitra Office and Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona; and the Rajasaheb of Mudhol who gave me access to all the published and unpublished material and permission to reproduce the same. My cordial thanks are also due to Prof. E. C. Godee Molesbergen, Archivist at Batavia, Mr. C. C. Rammerswaal of the Hague, and Prof. Brij Narain of Lahore for their translation of the Dutch documents, to Mr. P. Pissurlencar of Goa, Prof. A. X. Soares of Baroda and Rev. S. Cotta of the Catholic Mission at Miraj for the translation of the Portuguese extracts, to Rev. H. Heras, S. J. of Bombay, for lending me the English translation of the Dagb-Register, and to several friends who have assisted me in the publication of these volumes.

BALKRISHNA.

Kolhapur,
5-5-32.

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ERRATA

	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
P. 15 & 35	Geneologies	Genealogies
P. 35 & subsequent pages.	} Geneological	Genealogical
P. 36 n	Todd	Tod
P. 40	Whose English translation	The Eng. translation of which
P. 52	Extensive tank	An extensive tank
P. 56	1645-1661 Baji Raje 1661-1703 Maloji	1645-1664 Baji Raje 1664-1700 Maloji
P. 110	Virshapattan	Vrishapattan
P. 133	Salatin-i-Basatin	Basatin-i-Salatin
P. 162	Kempa Gauda	Kemp Gauda.

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2. The Dutch Records

The Dutch material alone has not been tapped by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The Dutch Factory Records in the India Office, both in English and Dutch, contain little material on Shivaji. The Dagh-Register is a mine of information, but being in the Dutch language, it remained a sealed book to us for a long time. The relevant portions have now been translated and are of great value in giving information, among other things, on the career of Shahji in the Karnatic and in constructing the history of the struggles between Bijapur and Shivaji on the western coast of India. The English and Persian material is not at all sufficient on the two preceding topics. Moreover, but for letters preserved in the Dagh-Register up to 1664, the history of the conquest of Kudal by Shivaji would have remained incomplete. After 1665 references to Shivaji in the Dagh-Register become too meagre, as the Indian letters were from that time copied into a different register, known as "Incoming Letters." Some of these letters concerning the activities of Shivaji are fortunately preserved at Batavia and the Hague. All the relevant documents available at Batavia have been secured by me. Then the Hague Records were examined for several months, and a list of all the documents dealing with Shivaji up to the end of 1669 was made. All these extracts have been translated

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The Chitnis B. and the Shiva Digvijaya remark that the Goddess at Tooljapoor and the God at Pandharpur were removed soon after the news that the Khan was going to demolish them.

The Sabhasad B. and the Shivabharat allege that those at Tooljapur and Pandharpur were desecrated.

(c) *Shivaji's treachery*—The contemporary English letter of 10th December 1659 clears up the *issue of the murder of Afzal Khan*. Its words are:

"Because the queen knew with that strength he was not able to resist Shivaji, she counselled him to pretend friendship with his enemy; *which he did*, and the other (whether through intelligence or suspicion it's not known) dissembled his love toward him, and sent *his mother* as a hostage, assuring him of his reality."

This letter is explicit on the point that Afzal Khan was advised by the queen to have recourse to dissimulation and treachery and that Shivaji learning of the treacherous design, endeavoured to counteract the plot by various methods in self-defence. It was thus a fight of wits in which Afzal was ultimately outwitted by the shrewd and courageous Shivaji. Ravington did not consider the murder of Afzal Khan as an act of treachery. This contemporary view of the tragedy confirms the statements of the Marathi chronicles.

(d) *Weapons used for murder*—Did Shivaji seriously injure Afzal Khan with his *Waghnukh and dagger* or did he use his dagger only or the sword? On analysis the evidence filters down to this:—

1. Sabhasad—Waghnukh and dagger, while Khan's head was cut off by Sambhaji Kavji.

2. Shiva Digvijaya (169)—Waghnukh and sword, while the Khan's head was severed by Yesaji Kank.

3. Chitnis (61)—Waghnukh and sword, while the Khan was beheaded by Yesaji Kank and Tanaji Malusare.

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(1) *Strength of Shaista's army.*—Shivaji Pratap (p. 90) says that Shaista and Randulla Khan were sent with a force of 60,000, but according to the—

91 Q. Bakhar (43) and
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Sabhásad Bakhar (35)—1,00,000 horse, besides elephants, camels, war-chariots, etc. An ocean-like army with 32 crores of rupees was sent.

Chitnis (96)
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Carre
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} Do not mention the number of troops.

(2) *Shaista's Residence.*—The evidence on this point is analysed below:

Camp alone is mentioned in—

(a) Shivaji's Letter quoted by Mr. Gyffard from Rajapur, dated 12th April 1663, says that Shivaji 'got into his tent to salam.'

(b) 4th May 1663—A trusty servant of Rustam Jamah who was specially sent to enquire into the matters, makes the same report.

(c) In a letter of 24th May 1663 from Kolhapur by the English merchants: "Shivaji going into Shaista Khan's tent."

(d) 25th May 1663.—Surat Letter to Madras—"Shivaji did lately in his own person set upon the tent of Shaista Khan."¹

(e) Sabhasad (Pp. 33-34)—Nabob's tent and Nabob's pavilion.

Sabhasad (P. 49)—"Shivaji is very expert in treachery; when he entered my camp, he jumped forty cubits from the ground and entered the pavilion?"

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8. Sarkar (P. 88)—“ Took up his residence in the unpretentious home of Shivaji's childhood. ”

We cannot ignore the evidence of the authentic contemporary letters. There could be no mistake in reporting on such a simple point. It appears to me that Shaista Khan and his personal retinue stayed in tents pitched in the compound of the Lal Mahal. The “ unpretentious house ” of Shivaji would have been too small for a rich grandee and a general of the rank of Shaista Khan. Some persons might be occupying the house itself, but the greater portion would have put up in tents. The sudden attack might have been led by Shivaji by jumping over or mining the compound wall. Escalot, Carre, Thevenot and Fryer confirm the testimony of the English letters.

(3) *The number of men accompanying Shivaji in his attempt to surprise Shaista Khan*—Shivaji's own letter quoted by Gyffard—12th April 1663—400 choice men.

24th May 1663—400 men.

25th May 1663 Surat Letter—400 of his men.

There is unanimity in the English letters on this point, but the evidence of the Bakhars is contradictory.

Chitnis (98)—2 to 3 hundred men.

Sabhasad (33)—2 hundred men.

Shivaji Pratap (98)—5 to 7 hundred men.

Shiva Digvijaya (220)—4 to 5 hundred men.

Tarikh-i-Shivaji—300 men.

Khafi Khan—2 hundred Marathas.

De Guarda—Netaji and not Shivaji with 80 men.

(4) *Shaista Khan's surprise*—The difference in the statements on this point will be clear from the following evidence.

Shivaji's letter quoted by Gyffard—“ Shivaji got into his tent to salam and presently slew all the watch. ”

The Nabob was in bed—Chitnis (98), Rairi (15), Khafi Khan (Elliot VII, p. 270), Scott (P. 10), Manucci (II. 105).

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(7) *Murder of Women*:— A very detailed list of the killed persons is given in the English Letters. Herein it is said that several ladies and maids were murdered by Shivaji.

During the affray which took place in that pitch darkness of the night, it is quite possible that a few ladies should have fallen in the scuffle in which blows were being indiscriminately given.

Sabhasad (83) remarks that it was Chimnaji Bapu who performed this deed and not Shivaji.

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De Guarda's opinion deserves attention:—

“Neotagy offered no insult to the women, for this sex is much venerated in Hindustan and they observe their customs better than the Europeans. These soldiers (nestes) had special reason for this, as it was the order of Sevagy who while he lived was both obeyed and loved.” (P. 69.)

9. Was Shaista Khan's daughter captured by Shivaji ?

Out of the five letters available on Shaista Khan's surprise, the Surat letter of 25th May 1663 alone gives the news of a daughter of the Khan having been carried away by Shivaji. The same statement is made by Escaliot and Thevenot, probably on the reports of the English Factors at Surat. Both assert that Shivaji treated her with respect and sent her back on getting a large sum of money as ransom.

The Bakhars of Chitnis, Sabhasad, Rairi, etc., make no mention at all. Such a romantic event could not have been ignored by the Maratha chronicles. Hence the story does not seem to be true. The incident could not have escaped the notice of Manucci who had personal acquaintance with Shivaji as well as Shaista Khan.

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Dow—Shivaji did not make the usual obeisance and showed contempt and haughty demeanour. So he was dismissed, but through the intercession of Princess Zeb-un-Nisa he was given a second audience. Shivaji again behaved rudely and even asked the Princess' hand. Upon this Aurangzeb ordered him as a mad man from his presence.

Alamgir Namah.—He kissed the ground before the throne and made a large present.

In my opinion, Shivaji was too shrewd to ignore the simple truth that a defeated foe and an uncrowned commander could not claim equality with the Emperor who was also his conqueror. Besides, he would not give offence to the Emperor from whom he had come to solicit the viceroyalty of the Deccan. It is very unlikely that Shivaji could jeopardise the chances of the success of his mission by neglecting the ordinary formalities at the very outset of his interview. Therefore, the version of the Sabhasad Bakhar and Alamgir Namah is acceptable here.

Shivaji's place in the Durbar.—With regard to the place where Shivaji was asked to stand in the Durbar, there is as usual much difference.

91 Q. Bakhar and Shiva Digvijaya—Shivaji sat near Rohilla Khan, the Prime Minister.

Rairi—They stood by the side of Rahim Rhan, a Pathan.

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Grant Duff has given the story that Shivaji and Sambhaji after getting out of the baskets, were carried away by a fleet horse to Muthra. This version might have been taken by him from Manucci (II, 139). But it is unsupported by the Bakhars. According to Shiva Digvijaya, Shivaji soon became a Bairagi and took the road to Kurukshetra.

Sabhasad and Chitnis affirm that at two cosses outside the city, they left the baskets and *set out on foot* to the village where Shivaji's Karkuns were. There they disguised themselves as Bairagis and went towards *Muthra on foot*. A similar story is told in the Rairi Bakhar.

The escape on horses under the circumstances seems to be very improbable, and I am inclined to believe the version of the Bakhars as true.

Such details can be easily multiplied, but I hope that it has been fully proved that even important points in the career of Shivaji are yet disputable.

On close scrutiny, the structure of each incident, exploit or expedition falls to the ground; only the foundation or basic fact of a particular event having happened, remains intact. The details present such a kaleidoscopic variety that they even become vague. For the sake of accuracy and definiteness of details, the help of the English and European records of that period, is of supreme necessity. These throw a flood of light on numerous questions, though at times even these have to be accepted with caution. As a detailed comparison of different versions is sure to lead us to the right conclusions, there is an urgent necessity of the publication of all available material on the heroic life of the Maker of the Maharashtra.

11. Imperfections of the Persian and European material

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extracts mainly deal with wars, political changes, revolutions and their effect upon the maritime and internal trade that was in the hands of the Europeans.

IV. It must be remembered that the European records are not naturally expected to speak about the hero, till he sprang into the lime light of fame by the total annihilation of Afzal Khan's forces in 1659. These give no clue to the hero's early career, nor do they speak of his ancestors. Thus the Sanskrit, Marathi and Persian material alone is useful for writing the history of Shivaji's ancestors. Prior to 1659 we do not get much confirmation of our data from the European records.

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They are expected to give a grandiloquent account of the exploits of Shahji and Shivaji. They are also without any chronological data. In fact, they are epics and are thus vitiated by the defects inherent in this literature. It only means that we must judiciously utilize all these works which are after all interspersed with facts of considerable historical value.

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eldest son, Kshem Sinha ascended the throne of Chittor, while the second son, Maham, became the ruler of Sisod. The latter was succeeded by his younger brother Rahap. These Sisodia rulers were known as Ranas. The eighth descendant of Kshem Sinha was Ratnasinha or Ratnasi of Chittor, while the 10th descendant of Rahap was Lakshman Sinha of Sisod.

It was this Ratnasi and not Bhimsinha or Lakhamasi (Lakshman Sinha) who was the husband of the far-famed Padmini. We need not reiterate the story of the demoniac passion of Alauddin Khilji to take a forcible possession of Padmini, the peerless queen of Chittor and of the brave resolve of 15,000 Rajput ladies to prefer death on the burning pyre to the desecration of their bodies by the Muslims. "The fair Padmini closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tartar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element."¹ This gruesome holocaust was followed by a terrible carnage of the bravest of the Rajputs in the battles with the imperial army. During the life and death struggle with Alauddin for the defence of Chittor, Ratnasi was killed and so was his kinsman Lakshman Sinha (Lakhamasi) with his seven sons. Thereupon Chittor fell into the hands of the Khilji conqueror on 26th August 1303, but Ajaya Sinha (Ajeysi), the only surviving son of Lakshman Sinha continued to rule at Sisod.²

To put a stop to the aggressions of the Sisodia Rana, the Delhi Emperor put Chittor under the charge of Maldeva, the Sonigra Chief of Jalor in 1314. Towards the close of Alauddin's reign, the Rajputs of Chittor threw the Muslim officers over the walls, devastated the imperial territory, and asserted their independence. These excursions were probably made under the valourous lead of the famous Hamir, the

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3. Rana Sajjansinha of the Solar Dynasty

It has been seen that about 1320 A. D. Sajjansinha came down to the Deccan with a devoted band of followers to try his luck. A few years after he seems to have entered into the service of Hasan Gangu who afterwards became the founder of the Bahmani Kingdom. Muhammad Shah Tuglaq, Emperor of Delhi, marched towards the south to put down the rebellion of Hasan Gangu and other rebellious captains. In one of the battles fought between the armies of the imperialists and rebellious Sardars, Sajjansinha and his son Dilipsinha distinguished themselves in the service of their master.

Daulatabad was captured by the rebels who chose the valourous Hasan as their king. After the successful establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom in 1347, the first king, Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu Bahmani, conferred upon the Ranas the jagir of several villages in Mirat, a district in the province of Deogiri, the ancient capital of the Yadavas, which was christened Daulatabad by Muhammad Shah. This jagir is still in the enjoyment of the descendants of Sajjansinha.

4. Rana Dilipsinha, a commander of the Bahmani Kingdom

Dilipsinha had another opportunity of proving his own valour and the chivalry of his Rajput soldiers in the war between the Kings of Gulbarga and Vijayanagar. The Firman granted to him in November 1352 A. D. by the most valiant and victorious Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu Badshah, is up to this day in the possession of the Rajasaheb of Mudhol who is a direct descendant of Dilipsinha. The latter is addressed as 'Rana' and 'Sardar-i-Khaskhel.' The title of 'Rana' proves that Dilipsinha was descended from the Sisodia Rajputs. In the Firman he is called the grandson of Ajayasinha. This name has been skipped over in the accepted genealogies. Thus we have not to depend upon legends and

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Shums-ood-Deen Shah, consulting his mother and Lallcheen, sent back an answer which served only to inflame the Princes, who with the assistance of the commander of Sagur, having collected three thousand horse and foot, and with the full confidence that other troops would join them from the capital, marched towards Koolburga. Disappointed in this expectation, they halted for some time on the banks of the Bheema, without being aided by any chief of consequence. It was, however, agreed that the Princes should advance with the regal canopy carried over the head of Feroz Khan. On this occasion his brother Ahmad Khan was raised to the rank of Ameer-ool-Omra, *Suddoo to that of Meer Nobat*, and Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo to the office of Vakeel, or Minister." ¹

6. Bhairoji or Bhimaji

In a few years, Firozshah succeeded in gaining the throne. In recognition of the devoted service of the father and son, the King bestowed the township of Mudhol with the adjoining 84 villages upon Rana Bhairoji in Hijri 800 (1398 A. D.). This territory is curiously enough even now in the possession of the descendants of the Rana. The details of the events relating to the grant of Mudhol are mentioned in a Royal Firman whose English translation is given below.

Firman of Firozshah Bahmani to Rana Bhairoji in 1398

"On account of the ignorance of the Ruler and mis-government due to the short-sightedness of Amirs, some servants of the Empire had, disregarding their duty, thrown

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It is this Bhairavji, Bhosaji or Bhosla, the first Rana of Mudhol, from whom the family is said to have got the surname of Bhosle. The Rana with his two sons quelled the rebellion of the chiefs of Railbag. His elder son Karansinha was killed in an engagement with the rebels in Hijri 808 (1405/6 A. D.) and two years later (1407/8 A. D.) the Rana himself died in the service of his master. Thus he ruled Mudhol for ten years.²

7. Rana Devharaj and Ugrasen

His second son,³ Devaraj distinguished himself in the service of the King for 16 years and then his heroic son, Ugrasen, saved the life of his master Ala-ud-din Ahmadshah Bahmani when the latter was surprised by a detachment of the Vijayanagar King in his hunting expedition. In recognition of this signal service, a Firman was issued in the Hijri year 827 (1424 A. D.) in the name of Ugrasen which

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8. Dominion of the Bhosles in 1454

Rana Ugrasen alias Indrasen with his brave brother Pratapsinha was engaged for several years in carrying on a war in the inaccessible parts of the Konkan. In one of the battles, Ugrasen fell a captive in the hands of the Shirke chief of Khelna, but was ultimately released by his heroic sons¹ (1453-5 A. D.). For this service the brothers got as jagir some part of the Wai Pargana.² Thus it will be seen that by 1454, the Sisodia Bhosles enjoyed jagirs in such distant places as Mudhol, Raibag, Wai and Devagiri. After Ugrasen's death, his two sons, Karansinha and Shubha Krishna, faithfully served the Bhamani ruler for several years. But on account of some misunderstanding, the younger brother Shubha Krishna with his uncle Pratapsinha went to the ancient family jagir in Devagiri and settled down there about the year 1460. Thus the families of these two brothers were separated.

9. The Ghorpades of Mudhol

The elder family which was ruling at Mudhol, obtained the name of Ghorpade for scaling the *fort of Khelna (Vishalgad)* with the help of ropes tied to an iguana (Ghorpad), and the new title of 'Raja Bahadur' in place of 'Rana' was conferred upon the rulers of Mudhol. This important event which proved to be the turning point in the history of the family, has been briefly described by no less a personage than the Bahmani King himself in his Firman granted to Rana Bhimsen. The unrestrained encomiums showered upon this 'Tiger' and 'Rustum of his age', exhibit the great esteem in which he was held by his master, Muhammad Shah Bahmani. In the Konkan wars this family came to be

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Bhimsing's loyalty and his hard exertions from the beginning of his life, his heroism and bravery have been greatly appreciated by us and consequently in return for such service, unequalled heroism and exertions, the possession of Mudhol with its 84 villages has been given to him as heretofore, with the object of perpetuating the House. Besides this, the forts in the two Parganas of Raibag and Ben (Wai) have been handed over to him and in place of the title 'Rana' the high title of 'Raja Ghorpade Bahadur has been conferred upon him and the flag with the sign of 'Ghorpad' (Iguana) has also been given to him. Henceforth he should use it (as his banner).

He should ever remain grateful for these gifts and should be ever ready and diligent in expanding the Empire and be intent on service from generation to generation.¹

Dated the 7th day of Jamad-ul-Awwal San 876 = 22 Oct. 1471.

10. Guerilla warfare

It should be remembered that the Prime Minister Muhammad Gawan opened a campaign for the conquest of the Konkan to avenge the disgraceful defeat and the total annihilation of the Muslim army under his predecessor Malik-ul-Tujar at the hands of Shirke of Khelna and the Maratha ruler of Sangumeshwar in 1455. The method of guerilla warfare for which the Maratha troops were afterwards so famous under Malik Amber and Shivaji, is seen at its best in the wars between the Bahmani forces and the Konkan irregulars. It is worth noticing that the Muslim army under Gawan was unable to capture Khelna or the

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1. A detailed account of the capture of Khelna is given on pp. 139-143 of the Mss. Mudhol Bakhar, The Firman is reproduced on pp. 145-46 of the same Bakhar.

Cholraj was raised to the dignity of the commander of the seven thousand horse and given *Torgal* and some territory of the Raichur Doab for the expenses of this army. (Firman 10). Later on, Cholraj and his uncle were employed in subduing Bancapur and Sira which were under the Vijayanagar Polygars. 26 villages in the Vijayanagar Kingdom proper and 4 villages to the south of Sira were conferred upon Cholraj. He finally laid down his life in a Karnatic expedition in 1578. It is worth noticing that the Bijapur kings were employing the Maratha Sardars for conquering the Hindu rulers of the Karnatic after the fateful battle of Talikot and they were conferring Jagirs upon them for their faithful services. All the three sons of Cholraj were long employed in subjugating the Polygars of the Karnatic, who now and then gathered such a strength as to inflict a defeat on the Imperial army and to capture some part of the annexed territory. After a faithful service of 20 years, Piraji was succeeded in 1598 by his son Pratapsinha who won many distinctions in the Bijapur Court (Firman 11). The employment of Shahji for the same purpose and the bestowal of a Jagir upon him were merely a continuation of the same old policy of pitting Hindus against Hindus. The Ghorpades and other Maratha Sardars were also employed in the Karnatic expeditions after 1636, as they had been frequently employed before. When Shahji was surrounded in the fort of Mahuli in 1636 by the Bijapur army under Randulla Khan, Pratap Sinha and his son Baji Raje Ghorpade, were serving under the Bijapur commander. The very first opportunity taken by Shahji to wreak vengeance upon his Ghorpade kinsmen was to stir up the cousins of Raja Pratap Sinha for requesting the King of Bijapur to grant them a share in the ancestral Jagir which was being solely enjoyed by the Ghorpades of Mudhol. By his influence Shahji secured a portion of the Jagir for Pratapsinha's cousins Baharji and Maloji, and thus weakened the Mudhol rulers. This and

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Sarkar too has relied upon the traditional account and made certain observations on Shivaji's ancestors, which, we hope, will be revised by him in the light of these documents.

"Agriculture was their original occupation, as with most Marathas. But the break up of the large monarchies of Western India, (namely, the Bahmani at the end of the 15th century and the Nizam Shahi at the beginning of the 17th) opened to the ablest men among them the chance of rising to military power and lordship over land. The history of Shivaji's family illustrated this transformation of the tiller of the soil by successive stages into the bandit, the captain of mercenaries, the feudal baron, and the sovereign ruler, which was so frequent during the troubled times that followed the downfall of central powers like the Bahmani or the Delhi empire and ended only with the establishment of British paramountcy and British peace." ¹

The Firmans clearly prove that the Bhosles were neither agriculturists nor bandits. They did not rise to power at the close of the Bahmani Kingdom, but their fortunes shone from its very beginning. Even in 1454 they possessed Jagirs in Mudhol, Raibag, Wai and Devagiri, while later on Torgal and some territories in the Karnatic were granted to them.

Nothing is known of the several descendants of Shubha Krishna either from the Maratha chronicles or the documents which have been discovered up till now. This gap is closed up with the material available on the career of Maloji, the grand-father of Shivaji.

13. Maloji

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14. Tentative chronology of Shivaji's ancestors

A. D. 1303 Ratansi and Lakshman Sinha died in the siege of Chittor.

1320? Sajjan Sinha migrated to the Deccan.

1340? Sajjan Sinha entered into the service of Hasan Gangu.

? Sajjan Sinha fought against the Imperial army.

1347 Sajjan Sinha got a grant of a few villages in the Meerat district in the province of Devagiri.

1352 The grant of this jagir was confirmed upon Dilipsinha.

1367? Sidhoji was made Mir Naubat.

1388 Sidhoji was killed in a battle.

1398 Bhairoji or Bhosaji was granted Mudhol with eighty four villages.

1405 Karansinha, the eldest son of Bhosaji, was killed in a battle.

1. P, S. S. Nos. 72, 127, 130. The names of Vithoji's sons were:—

Sh. Dig. 36—

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Sambhaji, Kheloji,

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Sambhaji Nos. 56 127, 176, 169,

Ekoji No. 130 ?

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There is, however, one grant of Vithoji Raje (No. 204 of P. S. S.) in 1624 March to the Karkun of Shirwal. If it is a genuine document, it will mean that Vithoji was alive in 1624, though he is said to have died before 1621 (No. 127). Though a large part of the administration of his jaghirs was handed over to his sons and there was a division of gold among the brothers in February 1623. P. S. S. Nos. 177-78. The grant No. 204 is of the same type as No. 291 from Malik Ambar in April 1629, though he had died in May 1626. Such are also the grants Nos. 169 and 176, as Sambhaji died in 1621.

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The Bhosle and Ghorpade rulers of Mudhol

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2. Marriage of Shahji

At the time of the death of his father, Shahji was four years old. Hence he must have been born in 1602. Sharifji was two years younger. Both these sons were brought up by their mother under the general supervision of their uncle, Vithoji. ¹ When Shahji grew to handsome and lusty manhood, when he had shown himself to be a generous and valiant youth endowed with excellent qualities, he was married to Jijabai, the beautiful daughter of Jadhavrao who is said to be as rich as Kubera, the God of wealth. This Lakhoji Jadhavrao was descended from the Yadava Kings of Devagiri or Daulatabad. He was the *Deslmukh* of Sinkhed and had the right to command 10,000 horse in the Nizamshahi Kingdom. Shahji's brother Sharifji was soon married to Durga, a daughter of Vishwasraja, the chief, of Junner. (Sh. Bh. VIII. 10-15; II. 65). Shahji's marriage must have taken place in 1619-20, for then only he would be a youth of 17 to 18 years of age. ² The Shiva Bharat states that this valorous warrior Shahji who was comparable to Bhishma and Prithviraj of old, soon afterwards rose to the first rank among the Nizamshahi nobility.

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3. Vicissitudes of war in the Deccan.

It is well-known that in 1600 Ahmadnagar was ceded to Akbar after its most heroic defence by the illustrious Chand Bibi and the ignoble murder of this amazonian queen by her perfidious nobles. Malik Amber and others removed the new king Murtaza Nizam Shah II first to Ausa and then to Parenda forts. In 1607 Amber captured Junner and made it the seat of Nizam Shahi Kingdom.¹ Then in 1610 he founded the new city of Khirki² near Daulatabad and brought the king to that city.

These successes of the Abyssinian minister exasperated Jahangir who in 1610 appointed Khan Jahan Lodi, a general of the relief forces, to help the Khan Khanan for crushing the versatile Malik Amber. This Lodi was the second son of Daulat Khan Lodi, a distinguished warrior of Akbar's time, and rose to the high rank of 5,000 horse on account of his martial talents. In spite of this additional force, even Ahmadnagar had to be surrendered to the Deccanis. Though Khan Jahan displaced the Khan Khanan as Viceroy, yet he was no match for Amber who succeeded in cutting off a large part of the Mogul army in the Konkan by means of his guerilla bands. Jahangir, being enraged at the incapacity of his generals, once more sent the Khan Khanan in 1612 to the Deccan. During this campaign success smiled upon the Imperialists on account of Muslem and Maratha desertions from the army under Malik Amber. The victorious Moguls captured and plundered the new capital of Khirki, then demolished its magnificent buildings and even burnt the city to ashes. The war was temporarily

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in the organization of the Deccan provinces. In that very year (1621) he put to death his elder brother Khusrau. This unnatural crime was condoned by Jahangir for various reasons. Soon after the Persians laid siege to Qandhar. As its fall was imminent, Shah Jahan was commanded to hasten back from the Deccan. Being afraid that Nur Jahan's junto would jeopardise his claim to the throne during his absence in Afganistan, he refused to obey the orders. His revolt, defeat and flight need not be described here. It will suffice to see the result of this internecine war on the Deccan. Malik Amber, freed from the danger of a vigorous offensive of the Moguls, turned his energies to the consolidation of the state. However the ill-fated Kingdom was dogged by a series of misfortunes, the first of which was the desertion of the most prominent noble Jadhavrao.

4. Jadhavrao's desertion to the Moguls (1621-30)

Bitter enmity was accidentally created between the Bhosles and Jadhavrao. One day at the end of a court levee in 1621 there was a very great rush in the retinues of the various war-lords. The elephant of one Sardar Khandagale getting out of control, trampled several men. Jadhavrao's son, Dattaji, ran to control the animal. In the scuffle; Vithoji's sons Sambhaji and Kheloji and then Shahji too advanced to save their friend Khandagale against Dattaji. The latter was killed in this fight, and hence Jadhavrao returned with his retinue and killed Sambhaji and wounded his son-in-law Shahji. The king himself came upon the scene and separated the two parties. He was disgusted

1. " Concerning the Affairs of the Mogal with his Son, they said that Sultan Chorrom, having been twice routed, had at last retreated with some few followers into the Dominions of Cutab-Sciah; and that his Father had given over pursuing him and, being retired to his own Court, left him there in quiet; that Cutab-Sciah did not assist him out of his Territories out of respect to himself, but let him enjoy the possession of a certain small circuit in his Country to which he had retired". *Travels of Petro Della Vallé in India*, Vol. II, P. 419.

in the organization of the Deccan provinces. In that very year (1621) he put to death his elder brother Khusrau. This unnatural crime was condoned by Jahangir for various reasons. Soon after the Persians laid siege to Qandhar. As its fall was imminent, Shah Jahan was commanded to hasten back from the Deccan. Being afraid that Nur Jahan's junto would jeopardise his claim to the throne during his absence in Afganistan, he refused to obey the orders. His revolt, defeat and flight need not be described here. It will suffice to see the result of this internecine war on the Deccan. Malik Amber, freed from the danger of a vigorous offensive of the Moguls, turned his energies to the consolidation of the state. However the ill-fated Kingdom was dogged by a series of misfortunes, the first of which was the desertion of the most prominent noble Jadhavrao.

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Bitter enmity was accidentally created between the Bhosles and Jadhavrao. One day at the end of a court levee in 1621 there was a very great rush in the retinues of the various war-lords. The elephant of one Sardar Khandagale getting out of control, trampled several men. Jadhavrao's son, Dattaji, ran to control the animal. In the scuffle; Vithoji's sons Sambhaji and Kheloji and then Shahji too advanced to save their friend Khandagale against Dattaji. The latter was killed in this fight, and hence Jadhavrao returned with his retinue and killed Sambhaji and wounded his son-in-law Shahji. The king himself came upon the scene and separated the two parties. He was disgusted

1. " Concerning the Affairs of the Mogal with his Son, they said that Sultan Chorrom, having been twice routed, had at last retreated with some few followers into the Dominions of Cutab-Sciah; and that his Father had given over pursuing him and, being retired to his own Court, left him there in quiet; that Cutab-Sciah did not assist him out of his Territories out of respect to himself, but let him enjoy the possession of a certain small circuit in his Country to which he had retired". *Travels of Petro Della Vallé in India*, Vol. II, P. 419.

district. On the faithful performance of this service Shahji obtained the Mokasa or superintending powers of the Parganas of Poona and Shirwal from Nizam Shah. This incident still more embittered the relations of the two monarchies. ¹

6. The siege of Bijapur by Amber

The desertion of Jadhavrao and the conquest of Poona were taken advantage of by the Moguls and the Bijapur ruler in cementing their alliance and jointly invading the Nizamshahi territory. Thereupon Malik Amber concluded an alliance with Golconda, and by forced marches surprised and defeated the Bijapur troops at Bidar. After plundering that magnificent city, he hastened towards the capital of Bijapur itself and laid siege to it. At the same time he devastated the surrounding country, and raised the siege only on the arrival of a large reinforcement from the Imperial army. The allied Bijapuri and Imperial forces then advanced into the Nizamshahi territory to wreak vengeance upon the Malik, and encamped near the village of Bhatwadi. ²

7. Bijapur described

The great traveller Mandelslo who visited Bijapur in 1639 has left this impression of the city:—

“The City of Visiapour is of such a largeness, that it is above five Leagues in compass. The walls which are very high, are of Free-Stone, encompass'd with a great Ditch, and several Fortifications, mounted with above a thousand great Pieces, of all sorts, Iron and Brass. The Kings Palace is in the midst of the City, from which it is divided by a double wall, and two Ditches, being above 3500 paces in compass. He who commanded there in the time of Sultan Mamedh Ideshacn (Muhammad Adil Shah) the Son of

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The remarkable victories of Malik Amber over the combined armies of the Delhi Empire and the Bijapur State spread his fame far and wide. The world did little know that the brilliant successes were not all due to the energy

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In this warr, they say, the Mogol favoured Adil-Sciah against Melik and supplied him with 20,000 Horse, but, be that how it will, Adil-Sciah hath hitherto always gone by the worst and sometimes been in great danger; Melik who is a brave Captain, having over-run all the State almost to the Gates of Vidhiapor, which is the Royal City of Adil-Sciah where he hath sometimes been forced to shut himself up as if it were besieged. A few moneths before Adil-Sciah put one of his principal Wives to death, for conspiracy which she was said to hold with Melik, and for having been a party in promoting this warr, out of design to remove Adil-Sciah from the Government as one become odious to his own people, either through his covetousness, or inability (being infirm), and to place his son in his room, who therefore was in danger too of being put to death by his Father when the conspiracy was discovered. ”¹

9. Shahji in Bijapur service (1625-28)

In the campaigns against Sholapur and Nauraspur the Bhosles performed signal service, but instead of giving Shahji due honour and dignity, the Nizam Shahi government rewarded his cousins for the victory. This act naturally created a suspicion in his mind against Malik Amber, Nizam Shah as well as his cousins. Mutual jealousy soon grew into enmity among the cousins. In a short time, Shahji was satisfied that his stay at the court was no longer safe. Like his father-in-law Jadhavrao, he decided to retire from that service. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was raging for revenge on Malik Amber for the brutal indignities piled upon him and his general during the late war. He offered the honourable post of Sarlashkar of the Bijapur army to Shahji and thus

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It is evident that Sarlashkar Shahji had won his laurels as a general and statesman under Bijapur. Even under Malik Amber he first held the Mokasa of Poona and Shirwal, and later on distinguished himself in the battle of Bhatwadi and after. Hence his name could not first occur in recorded history in 1628, nor was he a petty captain during the regency of Malik Amber.³ In a grant of 8th March 1628 Shahji called himself Sarlashkar, 'Maharaja,' 'the shelter of ministry,' 'and the refuge of valour.'⁴ These titles must have been bestowed upon him by the Adil Shahi state.

The political situation rapidly took a different turn by the recall of Mahabat Khan in the beginning of 1626, the death of the octagenarian Malik Amber in May 1626 and that of King Ibrahim on 22nd September,⁵ 1627.

10. The recall of Mahabat Khan

The recall of an experienced general and a subtle diplomat like Mahabat Khan to the north, had an adverse effect on the situation in the Deccan. His successor Khan Jahan Lodi did not possess the energy, diplomacy, generalship and prestige of his predecessor to successfully withstand the guerilla tactics of which Malik Amber was a consummate master. The factions at the court, the succession disputes; the *coup de main* of Mahabat Khan in capturing Jahangir as well as Nur Jahan, and removing the Premier Asaf Jah from the administration, the rebellion of Shah Jahan and lastly, the death of the drunken Prince Parvez, very much weakened the Imperial cause in the Deccan. A graphic account of these events is given by President Kerridge in his Surat Letter of 29th November 1626 to the Company.

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The Malik-i-Maidan cannon at Parenda

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The political situation changed with the inauguration of Shah Jahan's rule. He proceeded in person to the Deccan to put down the rebellion of his Viceroy, Khan Jahan Lodi, and demanded the restoration of the imperial territory from Nizam Shah. In case of refusal his Kingdom was threatened with fresh invasions under the Emperor himself. The Daulatabad court invited Shahji to return, and he gladly accepted the offer to usefully serve² the state which had been the patron of himself and his ancestors. On his way, he took legal possession of his Poona Jagir³ for which a grant was formally made by Nizam Shah in May³ 1628.

14. Shahji in Khandesh

In 1628 when the Moguls advanced against the fort of Bir, the Sultan sent Shahji and a party of siledars with 6,000 horse to make a raid in East Khandesh and check the Moguls there. But Darya Khan Ruhela slew many of the raiders and expelled them from the tract lying between the Tapti and the Purna. About one year after the return of Shahji to Daulatabad, his father-in-law Jadhavrao also renounced the cause of the Moguls for the

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"They know nothing of the distinction of Van-guard, main Battle, and Rear-guard, and understand neither Front nor File, nor make any Battalion, but fight confusedly without any Order.

Their greatest strength consists in the Elephants, which carry on their backs certain Towers of Wood, wherein there are three or four Harquenbuses hanging by hooks, and as many Men to order that Artillery. The Elephants serve them for a Trench, to oppose the first attempt of the Enemy, but it often comes to pass that the Artificial Fires, which are made use of to frighten these Creatures, put them into such a disorder, that they do much more mischief among those who brought them to the Field, than they do among the Enemies. They have abundance of Artillery, and some considerable great Pieces, and such as whereof it may be said, the invention of them is as ancient as that of ours. They also make Gun-powder, but it is not fully so good as what is made in Europe. Their Timbrels and Trumpets are of Copper, and the noise they make, in order to come to some Military Action, is not undelightful. Their Armies do not march above.....Cos, or Leagues, according to the measure of the Country, in a day; and when they encamp, they take up so great a quantity of ground, that they exceed the compass of our greatest Cities.

In this they observe an admirable Order, in as much as there is no Officer nor Souldier, but knows where he is to take up his Quarters; nor can there be any City more regularly divided into Streets, Markets and other publick places for the greater communication and convenience of the Quarters, and for the distribution of Provisions." ¹

18. Method of Maratha warfare

The Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi states had Muslim as well as Maratha feudal lords. For a long time Maratha

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Kannur in 1628. The Nizam Shahi premier Fatch Khan had brought the misfortune of defeat upon his kingdom, and yet he wielded an abundant influence upon the king. The latter was persuaded by one minister Hamid Khan to imprison Fatch Khan and then to arrest Jadhavrao who was unjustly suspected of being at heart with the Moguls. It was thought that in case the old experienced Jadhavrao who knew all the secrets of the state, joined the Moguls, he would cause irreparable loss to the kingdom. The plot was thus put into action. One day the king suddenly withdrew from the Audience Hall and thereafter a few Muslim courtiers under instructions from the king fell upon Jadhavrao and his sons in the Court Hall. The latter bravely fought to the last, so that Jadhavrao, his sons Raghuji and Achaloji, and even his grandson Yeshwant Rao were killed in June 1630. Thereupon Jadhavrao's brother Bhauji,¹ his wife Girjabai and other members of the family, fled first to Sindhkhed near Jalna and thence to the Moguls for protection.² Hereafter they served the Moguls for the destruction of the Nizam Shahi State.

20. Revolt of Shahji

The barbarous and cruel murder of the most prominent Hindu noble of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom, was full of important consequences. Other Hindu and Muslim nobles found out that their lives and properties were quite unsafe in the hands of the King. Shahji, the son-in-law of Jadhavrao, was mortally afraid of the coming conspiracies. He and his wife had every reason to avenge the death of their nearest kinsman. So he put up the banner of revolt and started from the impregnable fort of Parenda on a plundering expedition.³

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a robe, various other emblems of honour, and two lakhs of rupees. His son Sambhaji, relatives and dependents were also similarly honoured. Many of his cousins as Kheloji, Parsoji, Maloji, and Mambaji, as well as the sons of his uncle Vithoji, were taken into service at this time. Then he was deputed to conquer Junner, Sangamner and the Konkan districts for the Moguls.¹ Thus the Bhosles became the vassals of the Moguls for some time and began to capture territories for being annexed to the Delhi Empire.

Raja Chandar Rao More and Baji Valvale were sent by the Bijapur court with their own contingents to conquer the Konkan up to the port of Dabhol. They siezed Mahad, Chodegaon, Nizampur and a few other places from Nizam Shah. Siddi Marjan, the Subedar of Talkonkan, marched out of Chaul to oppose them. He was defeated and slain, and thus Chaul fell into the hands of the Adil Shahis. This victory was soon followed by a rout of the troops of Baji Valvale who was slain at Kolar near Chaul by Siddi Saba Amber Khani who had been reinforced with the troops of Ikhlash Khan from Daulatabad. He re-took Chaul and other parts previously captured by the Adil Shahis, and returned to the Konkan.² We have no light on Shahji's activities in that part. On the other hand, he seems to have been in the party of the pursuers of Daria Khan who had revolted against his master Shah Jahan. The rebel had made an escape into Bundhelkhand, but even there he was brought to bay by Shahji. In a fight the Maratha hero pierced him with many arrows and despatched him to the other world. Then Shahji returned to Shivneri³ where for the first time his heart was gladdened to see his newly borne babe who was named Shivaji from the goddess Shivai after whose name the fort was styled Shivneri. The Orme Mss. Vol. 331 records that Shahji was invested by the Moguls with the Jagirs of Junner

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Jah as commander-in-chief of the war against the two monarchies. The latter raided the country up to Gulbarga with the troops of the principal nobles of the Empire and then proceeded to lay siege to the Bijapur city itself.¹ Many skirmishes took place on a small scale every day, but at last on 13th February 1632 a bloody battle took place wherein the Moguls were defeated, and five generals of theirs were killed. On the other hand, the Bijapur army lost one general Sikandar Ali Khan. Yet the siege continued. The Mogul army wantonly destroyed every thing in the environs of the metropolis. These oppressions set the Bijapuri nobles' blood boiling. On the 20th of February they made a furious charge and fought with the courage of despair, so that they inflicted a serious defeat on the besiegers. The negotiations between the two parties broke down, and hence the Moguls began to retire from the field. The retreating army was pursued by 15,000 soldiers under Murari Pandit till it was out of the borders of the Kingdom. He then marched to the relief of Parenda in the Nizam Shahi Kingdom. The troops engaged in its siege had already beaten a hasty retreat, so that the Pandit stationed himself near the fort. He was fortunate to soon get its possession from the commandant Aga Ruzwan or Haibat Khan on 18th July 1632 by giving 10,000 huns as a reward. The chief cause of the Mogul failure was the dearth of water, fodder and provisions due to a terrible famine prevailing throughout the Deccan in 1631 and 1632.²

25. The end of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom

The crest-fallen Asaf Jah was replaced by Mahabat Khan, the Governor of Lahor, as the Viceroy of the Deccan. Circumstances in the south augured success in the campaigns. Knowing that Fateh Khan had neither men nor provisions to defend his capital, Shahji persuaded the Bijapur Government

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under him. Mutual discord obliged them to retire to a distance of some sixteen miles and leave the field open for the Mogul armies to capture the fortress. In spite of the repeated requests of Fateh Khan, the Pandit refused to send relief to the besieged, unless the fort was first delivered to him. Fateh Khan, being disappointed of assistance from the Adil Shahis, made up his mind to surrender the capital to the Moguls and once more opened negotiations with Mahabat Khan. The latter promptly sent large quantities of gold and provisions with a message to Fateh Khan that on the delivery of the fort, royal favours would be showered on him, and he and his sovereign would be restored to their previous positions. Fateh Khan delivered the fort in June 1633. But the treaty was soon violated by the Viceroy, because the last King Hussain Nizam Shah was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior, and Fateh Khan too ended his life in a prison under the effects of insanity.¹

The remnants of the territory of the Ahmadnagar State were annexed to the Mogul Empire and thus the Nizam Shahi dynasty came to an end. The most cherished ambition of Shah Jahan was fulfilled, but little did the exultant Emperor think that this extinct dynasty would sphinx-like once more rise from its very ashes through the efforts of Shahji.²

26. Shahji, the king-maker

After the conquest of Daulatabad, Mahabat Khan appointed Khan Duran Nasir Khan as the Governor of the new province and himself went over to Burhanpur. But there were still several Nizam Shahi barons in possession of small territories. Each one became independent for the time being, on account of the disappearance of the Nizam Shahi Government.³ Siddi Raihan of Sholapur, Siddi Amber of Danda Rajpuri, Siddi Saba Saifkhan of Kalyan;

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For instance, Siddi Saba Saif Khan of Kalyan ceded all the country except the forts to Shahji and proceeded with two thousand horse to Bijapur for service. The latter, though master of the Konkan now, still wanted to punish Saif Khan for his insurgence, in order that the other Sardars might learn a lesson from his fate. Murari Pandit, on his way to the capital, encamped at Pabal, situated on the confluence of the Bhima and Indrayani. Here he made very generous donations of land and precious articles to the Brahmins in the performance of the various rites on the day of the solar eclipse.¹ He performed his weighing ceremony by being balanced against seven metals, as if he were a king. During his stay here the news was brought to him of the surprise and defeat of Saif Khan's detachment by Shahji's troops at Kher, the capture of Siddi Amber Atash Khan, the commander of Saif Khan's army, and of the siege of the village wherein the Khan had taken up his temporary residence. Murari Pandit promptly despatched a force to the assistance of the Khan. Thereupon the Maratha troops retired and the Khan being relieved from the danger, proceeded to the bank of the Bhima and then to Bijapur. It is really strange that neither Murari Pandit nor the Bijapur Government protested against Shahji's aggression on a nobleman who had sought their refuge. They did not probably desire to break off their friendly relations with him at that juncture.²

It is related in the *Basatin-i-Salatin*³ that Saif Khan on being presented to the King, was given two lakhs of pagodas and employed in putting down the rebellion of the Naik of Harpan Halli. The latter was killed by a shot in the battle, and thus the Khan was crowned with victory.

The most important means to put an end to the existence of the new state was to remove Shahji from the scenes of his activities. Hence the first attempt of the Moguls

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The contemporary evidence of Mandelslo on the administration of Khawas Khan is against his condemnation by the author of the Muhammad Namah. Being the protege of Mustafa Khan, he is expected to denounce Khawas Khan. But Mandelslo who visited the city only three years after the murder of the premier, has praised his government. His regency had the approbation of the people. Being over-confident of the affection of his people "which he had made it his main business to acquire by a liberality truly royal" and "imagining that 'the people had so great an affection for him as to proclaim him King, in case there were no other, he resolved to make away with the Prince.'" Mandelslo first describes his attempt to kill the King, and then states that on his failure he was in return ordered by the Prince to be murdered.⁵

30. The brutal murder of Murari Pandit

The Pandit was a very great friend and favourite of Khawas Khan. He heard the news of his patron's death

1. In the Muhammad Namah the year of this murder is wrongly given as 1629. Basatin-i-Salatin gives a chronogram of the death and it confirms the year 1635-6. The same year is given in the Haft Kursi. We are informed in the B. S. (252) that Khawas Khan was minister for eight years. Hence it means that his murder took place early in 1636.

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Emperor to the gravity of the situation in the Deccan. Moreover, Shahji's power was fast growing to the detriment of the Empire. The shattered Nizam Shahi State was now so re-organized by the Bhosle statesman as to present a solid front. For the security of the Imperial prestige, it was extremely necessary to put an end to the rising Hindu power.

Having been encouraged by the late internal discords prevailing at Bijapur and being invited by its premier, the Emperor marched to the south with an army of 50,000 men, and himself opened a vigorous campaign against Nizam Shah and Adil Shah in February 1636.

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32. Treaty between Shah Jahan and Adil Shah

According to it, Adil Shah was to pay an annual tribute of twenty lakhs of rupees, and to acknowledge the suzerainty

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33. Capture of Udgir and Ausa

There was an article in the treaty for the cession of the forts of Ausa and Udgir. If their commanders were not willing to surrender the same to the Emperor, though they were given the concession of removing their families and private property to wherever they liked, the imperial army was to forcibly capture the forts from them.

It appears that the Nizam Shahi officers did not give up the forts, and hence Khan Dauran was sent to capture *Udgir* ² which was defended by one Siddi Miftah. After a continuous siege of three months the fort capitulated on 28th September 1636. The Habshi commandant was taken into the imperial service under the title of Habsh Khan.

Another army was despatched under Rashid Khan to lay siege to *Ausa*, but it was long defended by the heroic commander Bhojpal. The victorious army set free from Udgir arrived to strengthen the besiegers. Soon after, on 19th October 1636 the fort capitulated, and its commander also was taken into the imperial service. ³

34. The submission of Shahji

The treaty with Muhammad Adil Shah not only released the Mogul forces, but brought the help of the Bijapur armies also in the task of crushing the new monarchy set up by the king-maker Shahji. Even before the treaty, he was dislodged from Pedgaon, Chambhargunda, and Lohgaon ⁴ on the Indrayani river, and forced to take shelter in the hill forts of Kondana and

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Muhammad Adil Shah confirmed the grant of the ancient jagirs of Chambhargunda, Supa and Poona on Shahji, so that he was to bear the brunt of future Mogul invasions on the Bijapur territory. The Shiva Bharata (IX. 20-31) states that Shahji was allowed to keep his jagir according to the terms of the treaty, and was after some time invited by Muhammad Shah to join his service, so that he might have such a brave, resourceful, and redoubtable general to fight against the Moguls. He was appointed to a very high office¹ in the Bijapuri army. Thus the extinction of the Nizam Shahi State apparently strengthened the Bijapur kingdom by the addition of territory and the transfer of the services of the soldiers and officers of the extinct State.²

35. Shahji's work

The causes of Shahji's failure are not difficult to divine:—

(1) When the powerful kingdom of Golconda agreed to pay a tribute and acknowledge the Mogul sovereignty without a show of a fight, when a long and barbarous war forced Bijapur to come to terms with the Mogul, Shahji alone could not be expected to fight the allied armies of Bijapur and Delhi. Yet the threat of an allied invasion did not intimidate him as it did the Golkonda ruler. Shahji bade defiance to the Emperor and did not submit without a long war.

(2) The Muslim lords of the old Nizam Shahi State had renounced their allegiance to the new monarchy. The Hindu Sardars like the Ghatges, Thomares, Kharates, Pandhares, Ghorpades, Mohites, Mahadiks, Waghs, Kanks, Chavhans, etc. had rallied round his banner. Shahji's effort to re-establish

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- 1632 Jalna secured by the Moguls.
Daulatabad captured by the Moguls.
Shahji sets up Murtiza as king of the Nizam Shahi State. This succession is recognized by Adil Shah and Shahji is assisted by Murari.
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Shahji defeats Saif Khan's forces at Kher.
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2. Acquisition of new jagirs

But before starting for the Karnatic, Shahji took a subtle step of reducing the power of the Ghorpades and of enlarging his own possessions. There is a firman of 1637 A. D. referring to a partition deed. Shahji and Maloji who was the grandson of Vallabhsing, complained to the Sultan of Bijapur against Raja Pratapsinha of Mudhol for having withheld their share from the family estates which then consisted of Mudhol with 84 villages, the Parganas of Torgal and Wai, and many villages in Karad and the Karnatic. Shahji was granted the rank and command of 5,000 horse, 26 villages in Karad, half the Pargana of Wai and half of the family possessions in the Karnatic. Similarly, Maloji got a command of 2,000 horse and 30 villages in the neighbourhood of Vijayanagar for the maintenance of his rank. Thus Shahji was able to revenge himself on the Ghorpades who had helped Randulla Khan in reducing the fort of Mahuli. To his original estate of Poona and Supa the new jagirs in the Wai and Karad Parganas were¹ added. The adjacent jagirs of the Ghorpades and Bhosles became a source of frequent disputes between

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"The Prince Venk-tapa Naicka, was sometimes Vassal and one of the Ministers of the great king of Vidia-Nagar which the Portugals corruptly call Bisnaga; but after the downfall of the king of Vidia-Nagar, who a few years ago by the Warrs rais'd against him by his neighbours, lost together with his life a great part of his Dominion, and became in a manner extinct; Venk-tapa-Naicka, and also many other Naicki, who were formerly his Vassals and ministers, remain'd absolute Prince over that part of the state, whereof he was governor; which also being a good souldier, he hath much enlarg'd, having seiz'd by force many territories of divers other Naicki, and Petty princes his neighbours; and in brief, is grown to that reputation, that having had Warr with the Portugals too, and given them a notable defeat,¹ he is now held for their Friend, and for the establishment of this friendship they send this Embassage to him in the name of the king of Portugal, the Ambassador being styl'd, Ambassador of the State of India."

1. He extended his dominions on the north and east to Masur, Shimoga, Kadur, and Bhuvanagiri (Kavaledurga), and on the west and south to the sea at Honore (North Kanara), by victory over the queen of Gersoppa, the pepper queen of the Portuguese, who was a feudatory of Bijapur. By espousing the cause of the queen of Olaya against the Bangar raja, he came into collision with the Portuguese who call him Venkapor, king of Canara." Mysore and Coorg, p. 157.

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6. Muslim alliance against Vijayanagar

Bijapur and Golconda, taking advantage of this internal discord and exhaustion, opened a vigorous offensive for its dismemberment in 1637. The treaty of peace with Shah Jahan, the cession of a part of the Nizam Shahi territory and the transfer of the valuable services of an experienced general and a ripe administrator like Shahji, had immensely strengthened the position of Bijapur. Its ruler exhibited a great sagacity in using the new forces and opportunities for the conquest of a crumbling empire and making a pact with the King of Golconda by which the latter was to conquer the Imperial territory on the Coromandel Coast, while the central and western portions were to be captured by Bijapur. Moreover, Muhammad Adil Shah, King of Bijapur, desired to strengthen and glorify the Islamic religion in the Hindu Kingdom, and to win for himself the titles of *Mujahid* and *Ghazi*.¹ The opportunity for a campaign was offered by the mutual jealousies of the petty satraps of the Hindu Empire.

7. Rebellion of Timmaraj

The wars between the Emperor Kodand Rama and his commander Timma Raja are thus described in the Dagb Register of 1631-34.

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8. The first expedition into Malnad (1637-1638)

Vira Bhadra Nayak of Ikkeri was enlarging his territory by conquering the neighbouring districts of various rulers. One of them was Kenge Nayak of Basvapattan¹ (Virshapattan of the Sanskrit writers) who, to take revenge for his previous routs and losses of territory, invited the Bijapur King to pounce unawares on the Nayak of Ikkeri. Randulla Khan, under the title of Rustum Zaman was sent with Shahji, Malik Raihan, and others to carry on this war in the spirit of Jihad or religious crusade. With the help of the traitor, Kenge Nayak,² the Bijapur army suddenly arrived at Ikkeri. The ruler succumbed to this unexpected attack and fled away to his fort of Kasnauldrug. Rustam Zaman captured Ikkeri, remained there for a month, gave one lakh of huns to the traitor, and then proceeded to attack Kasnauldrug. Vira Bhadra, unable to resist such a vast army, made peace by ceding half of his kingdom and giving 18 lakhs of huns.³

Rustam Zaman returned in triumph to Bijapur, but two years after when Vira Bhadra threw off the yoke of submission by refusing to pay up the balance of the stipulated indemnity, the Bijapur forces proceeded against him and in a short time completely subjugated him. However, he was

1. The founder of the Basvapatan family is said to be Dhuma Raja whose son built the fort of Basvapatan and subdued a territory extending from Harihar and Kumasi to Taridere and Bagur. His successor Hanumappa Nayak was confirmed in these possessions by the Vijayanagar Sovereign and he founded Sante Bennur. Mysore Gaz. II. 437, 447.
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with forced marches to put down his rebellion. At the same time he invited Vira Bhadra, the enemy of Kenge Nayak, to assist him in conquering Basvapatan. This town is said to have been defended by 70,000 warriors of Kenge Nayak. The Bijapurian army consisting of the levies of all the principal war-lords besieged the town. Afzal Khan, Shahji, Badaji (Madaji) and other officers were sent against the main gate of the fort; Siddi Raihan Sholapuri, Peshjang Khan, and Hussaini Ambar Khan, against the second gate; and Ankush Khan,¹ Yaqut Khan and some other generals against the third gate. The garrison is said to have fired 80,000 rounds at the besiegers, but Afzal Khan heroically captured a part of the Peth. Thent he simultaneous advance of other generals broke down the opposition, some 3,700 soldiers of the Nayak were killed in the action and thus after a very severe struggle the entire town was captured. Thereupon Kenge Nayak surrendered the fort and gave 40 lakhs of huns to Rustam Zaman. According to the Shivabharat (IX. 37) the laurels of this victory were won by Shahji.

11. The result of the campaign

The fall of Basvapattan was followed by the conquest of Chiknayakan Halli,² Belur³ (Velapuri), Tumkur, Kandal (Kuningal?) and Balapur. A vast booty was captured in these places and hence Bijapur rapidly advanced in pomp and prosperity. The beautiful suburban towu of Badshahpur and one memorable Palace of Justice⁴ (Dad Mahal, were built in the metropolis at that time. It is evident that the Muslim arms succeeded everywhere against the petty Nayaks, each of whom had to fight single-handed against the overwhelming hosts of Bijapur. Now and then some

1. These very names are found in the Shivabharat. IX. 34-35.

2. 30 miles South West of Sira,

3. 20 miles distant from Halbid or Dwarasmudra, Belur might have been plundered, but it remained in the possession of the Bednur ruler for a long time.

4. It is now known as Asar Mahal.

with forced marches to put down his rebellion. At the same time he invited Vira Bhadra, the enemy of Kenge Nayak, to assist him in conquering Basvapatan. This town is said to have been defended by 70,000 warriors of Kenge Nayak. The Bijapurian army consisting of the levies of all the principal war-lords besieged the town. Afzal Khan, Shahji, Badaji (Madaji) and other officers were sent against the main gate of the fort; Siddi Raihan Sholapuri, Peshjang Khan, and Hussaini Ambar Khan, against the second gate; and Ankush Khan,¹ Yaqut Khan and some other generals against the third gate. The garrison is said to have fired 80,000 rounds at the besiegers, but Afzal Khan heroically captured a part of the Peth. Thent he simultaneous advance of other generals broke down the opposition, some 3,700 soldiers of the Nayak were killed in the action and thus after a very severe struggle the entire town was captured. Thereupon Kenge Nayak surrendered the fort and gave 40 lakhs of huns to Rustam Zaman. According to the Shivabharat (IX. 37) the laurels of this victory were won by Shahji.

11. The result of the campaign

The fall of Basvapattan was followed by the conquest of Chiknayakan Halli,² Belur³ (Velapuri), Tumkur, Kandal (Kuningal?) and Balapur. A vast booty was captured in these places and hence Bijapur rapidly advanced in pomp and prosperity. The beautiful suburban towu of Badshahpur and one memorable Palace of Justice⁴ (Dad Mahal, were built in the metropolis at that time. It is evident that the Muslim arms succeeded everywhere against the petty Nayaks, each of whom had to fight single-handed against the overwhelming hosts of Bijapur. Now and then some

1. These very names are found in the Shivabharat. IX. 34-35.

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made Vellore the objective of his attack and succeeded in surprising it. But the Emperor with the assistance of Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri-Bednur was able to expel Mir Jumla's forces from this impregnable fort and make prisoners of a part of the garrison. The Emperor very gratefully conferred many titles and abundant wealth upon Shivappa who, to further assist his lord, defeated several recalcitrant feudatories.¹ Hardly was the Muslim invader repelled, when the two ministers of Shriranga's predecessor who had been dismissed by him, intrigued with Golconda. The East India Company's records mention that one of these, Damerala Venkata who was imprisoned by the Emperor for his treachery, was likely to be released² on account of the pressure being put on him by Mir Jumla. It was at this time that Shriranga sought the assistance of Bijapur by promising to pay 150,000 pagodas and 24 elephants.³

14. Treaty between Vijayanagar and Bijapur

The Mahammad Namah mentions a treaty made between the Rayal of Vellore and Rustam Zaman which appears to be incredible. But it is possible that, having been exasperated against his insurgent governors whom he alone could not bring into subjection and who were yet falling a prey to the Muslims, the Rayal might have devised the plan of issuing a threat to them by announcing that he would be seeking the help of Bijapur in their reduction. The forces of the Emperor of Vijayanagar and the King of Bijapur were to make conquests conjointly and whenever a fort was to be captured, its moveable property was to be taken by the Bijapurians and the immoveable was to go into the Rayal's possession. Thus the latter could save his country from passing into the hands of the enemy. But the threat had the desired effect, because the treaty was

1. Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 347.

2-3. E. F. 1642-45, pp. 80, 111.

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for from Pullacatt, to keep the Moors from intrenching upon this Kings country. Soe there is now remaining before Pullacatt but one thousand.¹

“This countre is at present full of warrs and troubles for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vijapoores armie is come into this country on the one side and the King of Gulkondah uppon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is Generall for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings castles whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in his kingdome; where Molay (Malaya) was sent to keepe it, but in short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumlah, uppon composition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free; but how hee will be received by the king we shall advice you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesturday.”²

The allied troops laid siege to Vellore itself and completely defeated the Rayal. Subsequent to its fall, all the eastern portions of the Empire fell like ripe fruits into the hands of Mir Jumla. Thereupon the English East India Company obtained the renewal of their grant from Mir Jumla, the Suzerain of Madras. Similarly, the Dutch who were given freedom to reside and trade in Tegenapatam, were granted the farm of the town of Palicat by the Vijayanagar King. This town seems to have passed into the possession of Mir Jumla in 1645 and of Bijapur in 1651. The details of these events are told in various Dutch documents.³

17. Campaign against Shivappa of Ikkeri in 1644

Let us now turn our attention to the activities of the rulers of Bednur. Virabhadra was defeated but not crushed by the Muslem army. His younger brother and general Shivappa

1. E. F. 1646-1650. P. 25. Fort St. George to Surat. 21 January 1646. O. C. 1974.

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3. Dutch Records, Series I, Vol. 15, No. 484; Vol. 17, Nos. 518, 532; Vol. 18, No. 539. Mack. Mss. 201, pp. 10, 24, 25, 27, 31, 32, 38, 46, 62.

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fortifications of the place, but to have left its defence to his generals. The garrison heroically defended the fort for five days, but when a tower was raised by the enemy to mount their cannon for the bombardment of the hill-castle, the defenders were disheartened and they surrendered the fort. Sagar, another important town at the distance of four miles from Ikkeri, was also captured. Khan Baba was left to consolidate this conquest and the main part of the army returned to Bankapur and then marched on with the King to Bijapur. Thus in less than three months the campaign against Ikkeri was over.¹

18. Expedition under the Khan-i-Khanan in 1644-5

At the end of the rainy season of 1644 another expedition was sent into the Karnatic under the Khan-i-Khanan with all the principal officers who had distinguished themselves there in previous campaigns. Yet the vast force could hardly make any headway for full one year, on account of either the treaty of peace with Shriranga or his vigorous opposition. As the campaign was centred in the Karnul district which was included in the Golkonda Kingdom, it is evident that Khan-i-Khanan was assisting Shriranga against Mir Jumla. All the force was first concentrated to capture the strong fort of Nandiyal² which fell after a severe fight lasting for four days.

The fall of this important place was followed by the capture of eight places whose names are thus given in the Muhammad Namah:— "Sriwal, Kopgonda, Obhali, Porlor, Parkanpulast, Kanigiri, Kardelmast, Chabakalmarbast."³ Khaljalm and Kanikgiri." The king was much gratified with these conquests and honoured the Khan-i-Khanan with the high-sounding title of Khan-i-Muhammad Muhammad Shahi. It appears that some treaty was concluded between the two Muslim

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While the pourparlers of peace were going on, the Emperor forthwith marched against the rebellious Nayaks with three lakhs infantry, 12,000 horse and 100 elephants. The Nayak of Ginji was soon subdued, but the other two rulers offered a stubborn resistance.

The Nawab turned deaf ears to the terms of the Emperor's ambassador and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the invading army from the Nayak's country. Thereupon the ambassador conveyed to his master the preliminary condition of the peace, so that the Emperor was compelled against his will to return to his capital without punishing the rebels. The ambassador was permitted to return with the Bijapuri envoy Mulla Ahmad to his master for settling the terms of the treaty. The Nawab was anxious to keep the Brahmin envoy in his camp as a hostage, but through the intervention of Shahji he was allowed to go back to Vellore. The Nawab's army was encamped at the head of the Nayakamere Pass, some 28 miles from Vellore. It has been seen that the rulers of the southern principalities like Ginji, Madura and Tanjore, as well as the Nayaks of Harpanhalli and Ikkeri, were with the immense Bijapuri army consisting of Maratha levies and Muslim troops. Even then Shriranga decided not to submit like a coward, but to await the decision of the sword.

He organised the defence, fortified the passes and proceeded to oppose the advance of the Bijapuri army through Jagdeva's territory of the Baramahals in the Salem district. Shriranga had come up to the strong fort of Krishnadrug with an army of one lakh foot and 12,000 horse. The Nawab probably wanted to surprise the Rayal from the rear. In the meantime a furious battle was fought in January 1646 between the advance guards under Jagdeva, the Raja of Kaveripattan,¹ and the Bijapuri army under Shahji and Asad Khan. As the latter was away from the field, Shahji alone was in command of the small force. Though the main

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20. Campaign against Ginji in 1648

Nawab Mustafa Khan was again appointed to the command of the Karnatic campaign to crush Shriranga. He started from Hasanabad, a suburb of Bijapur, on 12th January 1648. The Nawab was received on the way by Shahji and Asad Khan who had been left for the administration

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whom he had scandalously betrayed. Obligated to take sides, he did what one would always do, under the influence of terror; he decided on the most senseless and disastrous step: he delivered himself up to the king of Golconda and concluded with him a treaty by which he surrendered at discretion." ¹ Tirumal Nayak soon repented of his short-sighted policy and desired to amend matters by having recourse to an alliance with the Bijapur king who immediately sent him an army of 17,000 horse for his assistance. With this imposing cavalry and 30,000 infantry of his own, he marched to relieve Ginji from the forces of Mir Jumla. But the Muslim armies soon came to an understanding among themselves. Tirumal Nayak, being deserted by his Muslim friends, hurled himself with all his army into the fort of Ginji for its defence. "The fortress, protected by its advantageous position, was, besides, defended by good fortifications, furnished with a strong artillery and by a numerous army, provisioned for a considerable time; it could, accordingly defy all the efforts of the besiegers. But soon disagreements and divisions sprang up among these men (the besieged) so diversified in nationality and manners. A revolt broke out in the midst of the general confusion, the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy, who rushed into it and delivered the town, the richest in all these countries, to pillage. The booty was immense, consisting of silver, gold, pearls, and precious stones of inestimable value." ²

This account by father Proenza is supplemented by that recorded in the Muhammad Namah and the Basatin-i-Salatin.

Finding it impregnable, Mir Jumla succeeded in securing the assistance of the Bijapur army. Thereupon, Tirumal Nayak of Madura deserted by his Muslim friends began to actively help the besieged. He also succeeded in fanning the flames of enmity between Golconda and Bijapur, and the result of his diplomacy was the raising of the siege by Mir Jumla. The

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According to the Basatin-i-Salatin, Rup Nayak, the Raja of Ginji, was very proud and wealthy. His family had been in possession of the fort for seven hundred years. Being given to a licentious and luxurious life, he had neglected the affairs of his kingdom. As he was not helped by the neighbouring chiefs during the siege and because his provisions and fodder were exhausted, he was ultimately forced to surrender the fort to the Bijapurians on 28th December 1648. Besides the vast amounts of wealth plundered by the soldiers for themselves, the Bijapuri army got hold of all the accumulated riches of the Ginji rulers. It amounted to four krores of huns or 20 krores of rupees in cash and jewels.

“The country which had nothing except idol worship and infidelity for thousands of centuries was illuminated with the light of Islam through the endeavours and good wishes of the King. The treasures, gems, jewels and other property worth four crores of huns was added to the imperial treasury. Mosques were erected in the cities which were full of temples and the preachers and criers were appointed in order to propagate the Muhammedan religion.”¹

All the Muslim army was not employed in reducing the fort of Ginji. It appears from the English Records that in this campaign the Bijapur King employed the well-known Pindaries for the wanton desolation and devastation of the land. This fact is worth noticing, since afterwards Shivaji followed in the footsteps of Muslim rulers in some of his policies. His system of plunder was surely more humane than the one that was used by the Bijapuri war-lords in the Karnatic.

“Nations who lye within two daies journey one of another with powerful armies, watching all advantage upon each other, yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted or divided people. These are the Gulcandah and the Vizapoore (Bijapur) Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters who receave noe pay but plunder what they can; whose incursions, roberies, and

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incident has been wrongly connected with the appointment of Afzal Khan to punish Shivaji, so that the Sabhasad makes no mention of the imprisonment and release of Shahji in 1649. (ii) The Chitragupta and Shiva Pratap Bakhars, though they make the details more spicy, commit the same mistake (Sabh. 12; Chitragupta 7; Shiva Pratap, 77). (iii) According to Chitnis (36-37), Shahji wrote a letter to Shivaji censuring his conduct and ordering him to go to Bijapur. Thereupon Shivaji sought the advice of his wife, Sai Bai Saheb as well as of his officers and nobles, and thereafter despatched curt replies to his father as well as the King that he was ready to take the consequence of his deeds, but could not be thus diverted from his course. The King did not believe the Raje. As he had harboured a suspicion in his heart against Shahji, he ordered Baji Ghorpade to arrest Shahji by any means and bring him to the metropolis from Trivapi near Tanjore. (iv) The Shiva Digvijaya (133-138) reproduces all the letters mutually sent by Shivaji, Shahji and the King. Shivaji is said to have consulted his mother, his officers, his wife and his inspiring Goddess Bhawani before sending replies to his father and the King. The latter deputed Baji Ghorpade and Sarje (Sharza) Khan to persuade the Raje for fully controlling his son. The Nabob excused himself on the ground of his friendship with Shahji, but Ghorpade consented to carry out the order of the King to arrest Shahji. (v) The Muhammad Namah has a different story altogether. During the siege of Ginji some incidents happened which caused ill-will between the Nawab and Shahji. Instead of showing obedience to the premier and chief command, Shahji had the temerity to disavow his authority. Hence the Nawab thought out plans to arrest him.

“ As the siege lingered on, Shahji Rajah who always changes sides like the dice of the gamblers, sent his chamberlain to the Nawab, requesting his permission to go to his own dominion, so that his soldiers may get some rest.

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of the Sultan of Bijapur. It is unlikely that under such circumstances Shahji could have thought of leaving his personal and ancestral jagirs for an insecure service under Kutb Shah. The real cause of the rupture with Mustafa Khan seems to be his protest against the treacherous policy of the Khan in terminating his alliance with the puissant prince of Madura and making a common cause with Mir Jumla. It has been seen that the new treaty did not help Bijapur, because the Nayak of Madura made things hot for Muslims. Shahji's view of relieving Ginji from the siege of Mir Jumla with the assistance of the Nayak was justified. It is also possible that Mustafa Khan might have forestalled a strong Hindu League consisting of the Nayaks of Madura, Ginji, Tanjore, Mysore, Kaveripattan and Bednur, of Shriranga of Vijayanagar and of Shahji Raje against the Muslims. These seem to have been the causes of the rupture, and of the subsequent imprisonment of Shahji.

22. Release of Shahji

The account of Shahji's imprisonment being the same in the *Basatin-i-Salatin* and the *Shiva Bharat*, seems to be reliable, while the story of the Bakhars is quite contradictory. It has been said in the *Shiva Bharat* that one day early in the morning when the sun was about to peep out, Dilawar¹ Khan, Masud Khan, Ambar Khan, Rajahs of Adoni and Karnpur, Farhad Khan, Khairat Khan, Yaqut Khan, Azam Khan, Bahlol Khan, Malik Raihan Khan, Balal, son of Haybat Raja, Sidhoji, Mambaji Pawar, Mambaji Bhosla, and some other nobles, besieged the camp of Shahji. As his soldiers had kept awake that night, they had no idea of such a sudden attack and were unprepared, and so there was a great disorder and tumult in their camp. Masud Khan himself was commanding the forces. Then Khandoji, Ambaji, Manaji, Baji Raje

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kind treatment of the King towards Shahji, the nobles and the residents of the city were surprised, because they thought that Shahji Raja deserved capital punishment and no favour in the form of a guard or watch. As he was put in confinement, they thought that he might be pardoned and liberated. Some of the councillors did not like his release in the least, because he was very cunning and resourceful. Another party were unanimous that to bestow liberty on that treacherous and reckless fellow would be tantamount to trampling the tail of a snake, or opening the knot of the tail of a scorpion with one's own hand with full knowledge (of) and after seeing clearly (the danger involved in the adventure). It is not the way of the wise to regard a porcupine as a heap of mud and a wasp's abode as a fit pillow for the head.

The King, who was ever ready to pardon the crimes of the created beings, entrusted Shahji Raja with the instructions that if he would give up to the imperial authorities the strong fort of Kondwana (which fell into his son's hands through treachery after the death of Dadaji Kond Deva), with the forts of Kundarpi and Bangalore, he would be honoured with his former position.

Khan Ahmad Khan accordingly carried Shahji to his own house and kept him in confinement. Then he broached to him the glad tidings of the royal kindnesses and left no stone unturned in sympathising with him and soothing his heart. When Shahji saw that his black deeds had brought forth white flowers on account of the showers of royal favour, he agreed readily to obey implicitly. He sent letters to his two sons who were firmly seated in the above-mentioned forts. "As soon as these few sentences reach you, you should deliver the forts of Kondwana, Bangalore and Kundarpi to the trusty agents of the king." They abided by this behest of their father immediately.

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certain from Murad's letters, that a dress of honour was despatched to Shahji. Even this much favour must have had a great effect. The Sultan clearly saw that he could not long keep Shahji in captivity without incurring the wrath of the Emperor and furnishing him with an excuse to pounce upon his territory. (ii) Shahji's release without reconciliation would have sent him and his sons to the Mogul Court, where they would have been highly instrumental in conquering Bijapur. (iii) The death of Mustafa Khan who had personal grievances against the Raja, must have improved the matters. (iv) The affairs in the Karnatic too required a strong and an experienced governor to maintain law and order in the new conquests. (v) The crushing defeats inflicted by the sons of Shahji on the imperial forces should be considered as an effective cause of reconciliation. On the news of his father's arrest, Sambhaji strengthened the defences of Bangalore and prepared to fight the forces that advanced under Tanaji Dure, Vithal Gopal and Farhad Khan. Another army was despatched against Shivaji who had fortified Purandhar. As both the armies were routed by the undaunted brothers, Adil Shah thought of saving his prestige by securing the possession of Bangalore and Sinhagarh in lieu of Shahji's release.¹

Sir J. Sarkar is wrong in asserting that Shahji was kept in prison along with his eldest son. (i) Neither the Persian histories like the *Basatin-i-Salatin* and *Muhammad Namah*, nor the *Shiva Bharat* and *Jedhe Shakavali* make any mention of the imprisonment of any of his sons. All these books would have taken special pleasure in mentioning that fact. (ii) Murad's letter should not be literally but metaphorically translated. His sons were to be released from anxiety and not from imprisonment. (iii) From Murad's letter it is clear that Shivaji requested him to secure the freedom of his father but not of his brothers. Hence Shahji was arrested alone and he was kept under surveillance at Bijapur and not

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24. Shahji and Baji Ghorpade

It has been seen that Baji Raje Ghorpade had taken a prominent part in arresting Shahji and hence their enmity had been deepened. Adil Shah counselled Shahji to be indulgent to Baji Raje, because he had done the deed under royal orders. To put an end to their quarrels, Ghorpade's jagir in the Karnatic was exchanged with Shahji's jagir in the Wai Parganna, so that the Ghorpades would have no cause to fear from Shahji who as Governor of the Karnatic might have troubled them.

25. The burning of Mudhol.

Shahji could not forget and forgive the part played by Baji Ghorpade in arresting him. Hence he wrote to his son to be on the lookout for wreaking vengeance on him. The opportunity came only in 1661. The Savants of Savantvadi proposed to the Bijapur Court to co-operate with them in crushing Shivaji. Thereupon troops were sent under Baji Ghorpade and Bahlol Khan to assist the Savants. But before the confederates could unite, Shivaji first swooped down upon Mudhol, entered the mansion at night, and killed Baji Raje. All his sons, wives, kith and kin 'whoever fell into his hands were executed. Terrible was the slaughter in the town. After extinguishing the whole family, he desolated the town and plundered the whole territory. Fortunately for Mudhol, one Rani with her son Maloji had gone to her father's house in the north. This young boy was brought back to Bijapur where the King conferred the old ancestral jagirs upon him. Maloji soon after distinguished himself in the service of Bijapur. There is no European document on the Mudhol tragedy, but we have first an important letter to Shahji from Shivaji himself (Appendix) and then the Adil Shahi Firman granted to Maloji wherein his father Baji is described to have died a martyr in the cause of the Kingdom.¹

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CHAPTER V

SHAHJI IN THE KARNATIC (Cont.)

1. Power of Mir Jumla

The incarceration of Shahji, the fatal illness of Muhammad Adil Shah and the threatening attitude of the Moguls made the Bijapur Court suspend its activities in the Karnatic. On the other hand, Nabob Mir Jumla who had annexed a territory 300 miles long and 50 miles broad, containing many fortresses, strongholds, prosperous ports and rich mines and yeilding an annual revenue of 40 lakhs of hons, had become almost an independent king. He made peace with Shriranga and entered into correspondence with Adil Shah and Aurangzeb for holding this rich kingdom as a fief under their suzerainty. Thus instead of adopting an offensive policy, Mir Jumla was busy consolidating his position. In a letter of 17th January 1651 sent from Fort St. George to the Company, the power and position of this renowned general are thus described by Walter Littleton and Venkata Brahmani who had been sent as envoys to the Nabob.

“ The whole kingdom of Gulcunda is governed by him of whome the people stand in feare and subjection unto as to the King himselfe. The revenues that hee yearly brings the King in, amounts unto twentye hundred thousand pagodaes. Alsoe he hath conquered and subjugated the major part of the kingdom of the Carnatta and is on election of all in a short tyme under his government it being the onely country you trade in for matter of all sortes of cloth. There is allsoe bezar, dyamonds, yron, steel, and saltpeter, of which he told us he could make and procure a great quantitie annually. The revenew that he hath taken from the Jentue in the aforesayd country is to the somme of fortie hundred thousand pagodaes per annum. Hee hath of his proper owne foure thousand horse, three hundred elephants, four or five hundred cammels

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This success gave a new vigour to the campaigns of Bijapur. Shahji and Ikhlas Khan advanced against Shriranga and defeated him at Jankal. Their forces captured the important fortress of Penugonda which had been the capital of Vijayanagar for many years. It was natural that the loss should have greatly alarmed the Hindu Rajas.

3. Shriranga in the field

It has been seen that Shriranga Rayal of Vijayanagar, having lost his eastern possessions and Penugonda in particular, had sought refuge in the territory of Mysore. After 1650, he was attempting to form a confederacy against the Muslim conquerors. The opportunity came to him when Prince Aurangzeb was appointed as Viceroy of the Deccan in 1653. He sent his agent Ramrao to the Prince for asking protection against the Deccani Sultans, but Aurangzeb did not like to save a Hindu King from the onslaughts of the Muslims. Shriranga was not disheartened by this disappointment. With the help of the Mysore army alone, he reconquered a part of his territory and even regained Vellore from the Bijapurians. The latter once more invested the fort, and after a long siege captured it. Then a treaty was concluded with the Rayal by which Chandragiri with the revenue of certain districts was left to him.² Even the Golconda army was repulsed by the Rayal, but he was soon betrayed by the treacherous Nayak of Madurā who opened the passes to the combined Muslim armies against Mysore.³ Shriranga was routed and compelled to seek refuge in the forests where he led a miserable life.

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Shriranga Rayal was not the man to be easily disheartened. He put up a most stubborn resistance to the advance of his enemies. Sphinx-like he rose up again and again from his ruins to face the Muslims. In November 1656 he was seen besieging Pulicat which was under Mir Jumla. It appears from the Dutch Records that Koneri Chetti, the general of Shriranga, who was carrying operations near Pulicat, betrayed his master and went over to T. Krishnappa, the lieutenant of Mir Jumla. Strengthened with this defection, the latter was able to score a victory² over Shriranga in September 1657. Later on, there was a war between the forces of Golconda and of Mir Jumla under T. Krishnappa for the possession of the Karnatic.³

4. Situation in the Deccan

For four years of 1654-58, there was no serious war in the Karnatic, because Golconda was first weakened by the revolt and defection of Mir Jumla and then sacked and devastated by the Moguls. The miseries of the people of the Karnatic and the result of the rebellion of Nabob Mir Jumla are depicted in a letter of 18th September 1654.

"It hath been no small miserye that this poore heatheen country hath suffered any tyme these ten years almost, since the Moores of Vizapore on one side and those of Gulcondah on the other side first made inroads upon it. And now, when wee hoped all would have beene put in some good posture of government, to continue still those miseries

1. Sarkar, Aurangzeb, I, p. 251; Ruqat-Alamgir, Pp. 150-57.

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Shahji, as Governor of the Karnatic, was engaged in the difficult task of subduing the refractory Polygars during the revolutionary period. The polygar of Kanakgiri revolted against the authority of Bijapur. Thereupon Afzal Khan was sent from the capital and Sambhaji marched from Bangalore for the reduction of the rebel. During the siege operations Sambhaji was shot dead by a cannon-ball. Thereupon Shahji himself proceeded to take revenge of his son's death and brought the place and the polygar to submission.

He blamed Afzal Khan for not supporting his son, and thus their enmity was still more deepened.¹ In 1658 Ekoji was sent to capture the country round Shri Shail Malikarjuna. In his company was poet Jairama who has described the successful operations of this expedition.

The Nayak of Madura, Muttu Virappa, threw off the Muslim yoke by refusing to pay the tribute, fortifying Trichinopoly and by making vigorous preparations for resisting the Muslim armies. Shahji won over the Nayak of Tanjore to the side of Bijapur against Madura. The Adil Shahi troops rapidly advanced under Shahji and Mulla Mahammad up to the very gates of Trichinopoly, but being terrified by the preparations of the Nayak of Madura, they unexpectedly fell upon Tanjore itself on 19th March 1659. The fort was most heroically defended by the Kshatriya warriors called Rajas, and they preferred a glorious death to a dishonourable life. The victorious army of Shahji proceeded southward, captured Mannarkovil and Vallamkottai. This hill-fort situated on a steep rock with high ramparts and erected with incredible expense, labour and art, was the last refuge of the Nayak, but on the approach of the enemy, the coward ruler fled away to the

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6. Tegenapatam captured by Shahji (1661)

The people of Shahji laid siege to the town of Tegenapatam on 15th December 1660 with the result that the Dutch Company's business was at a standstill there, but the residents hoped nevertheless to have 200 bales of carpets ready for Batavia about the middle of February, 1662.

" We further note from the letter of Governor Pit written to Seylon (which we have already mentioned several times before) that *Sahagie's* men have looted the town Carcal a few days before the letter was closed and that they had robbed the inhabitants of not less than 1,700 pardaux. Although he was short of cash, the Governor has sent 3,000 pardaux to Negapatnam to pay the garrison there.

The war round the fort Tegenapatnam is finished and the fort has been delivered to Sahagie's men on the 4th February 1661, so that Tegenapatnam and the premises of the Company there are now under the command of Sahagie. This looks serious, but the Governor does not believe that he will trouble us, because he is aware that the Company can rely on the strong forces at Porto Novo, which would make his profits useless. It would be possible to transfer the trade to Poolesere (Phulchari or Pondichery), about 4 miles from Tegenapatnam, and to leave the premises at Tegenapatnam under the supervision of an assistant and 3 or 4 soldiers, but the merchants would not dare come out of fear for Sahagie; and Kistapaneyak, (Krishnappa Nayak) who is an upper-regent of Poolesere on behalf of Mir Jumla, would not be able to protect us against him, so that discharging cargo at Paelesere would only cause trouble to the Company, " 1

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By October 1661 Shahji was successful in capturing Porto Novo and it was made the base of his depredations into Tanjore.* Shahji's policy was to bring the port towns into his

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On the other hand, the Governor is afraid that the Moors if they see an army marching against them will pilfer the premises of the Company, especially as they keep a "Champan" ready either to flee if necessary or to abduct the said hostages. Therefore the galleon "Tayoan" will remain for some time in front of Tegenepatnam to safeguard the capital which the Company has got there.

It is apparent that the Ruler of Tansjouwer when he will have completely recovered, will not drop his claim of the balance of the present, although he has not reminded Governor Pit since January last.

Mr. Ranvel Kistapaneyk, ex-regent of Paelesera, has joined *Sahagie*, but has afterwards left him again and has gone into the forest behind Tegenepatnam, however without joining either of the parties. Therefore the proposal made before to transfer the office of the Company from Tegenepatnam to Pœelesera is automatically cancelled, For as long as the Jentus remain masters in the Sigier province and when they have taken the castle of Tegenepatnam, it is best that the residency remains at Tegenepatnam, especiatlly because there is no Government at Poelesera which could protect the Company against possible looting or violence from outside the town.

As soon as *Sahagie* had been driven back into the interior, people at once noticed more activity in the trade at Tegenepatnam. The cloths have since been in better supply, On the other hand, the war between Lingamaneyk against Sahagie has caused such a panic in Porto Novo that the leading inhabitants of the country have fled and are staying on the ships, so that perhaps this year nothing will be sent from there to other places. Governor Pit has therefore not

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marry the sister of the Neyk. Whereupon Lingamaneyk went to his master, the Neyk of Madura and left his servant behind with 3000 men to receive the said 50 thousand Rials. But afterwards he received a letter from Antosie Pontele that Sahagie would not wait for the money any longer and had therefore broken the contract. This meant that they were again up against each other. Before Lingamaneyk had come near the castle Tegenepatnam, the men from the castle had been twice in Porto Novo, had looted the town and driven the inhabitants into the country and dispersed them. Seeing how many troubles the Company had to go through in this heavy war, Governor Pit had ordered the residents that they would embark with the valuable merchandise in the gallot Tayoan which was lying in the roadstead for that purpose, and that if the troubles would not have ceased on the 25th September they should go to Palleacatte, leaving the premises for a short time under protection of the Company's soldiers. But if peace had been concluded, this would not been necessary. They had already loaded some of the merchandise in the said Gallot, but had unloaded it again. Sahagie is very much satisfied that we have remained neutral in this affair." ¹

10. Bahlolkhan's raid in Tanjore

A brief account is recorded in a Dutch letter. "Balbulachan keeps his Visiapore army ready to cross the river Colleron into Tansiower. An advance of 2000 horsemen invaded this country already and carried off many men and cattle, but they were driven back over the said river by Lingamaneyk who is now commander-in-chief of the Neyck of Tansiower. The Neyck of Madura is on the alert, but is not much concerned over the difficulties of his neighbour. And the trade of Tegenepatnam having been very bad for the last 6 or 7 months and the merchants having left the town during the siege in order not be robbed by the chief of the Visiapores, who has taken the castle of Tegenepatnam." ²

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"The Visiapore Commander, Babbulachan (Bahlol Khan) ordered by the King of Visiapore to make war in the country of Canara, has already proceeded there." 2

"In the province of Tansiower there is again a dispute going on between the Neyks of Tansiower and Madura about the payment of 500 thousand pardaux to the Commander of Visiapore, the Neyk of Madura pretending that he paid more than was due by him. As the Neyk of Tansiower is not willing to contribute anything, the Neyk of Madura has crossed the river Colleroon with a fairly big army and marched to the capital Tansiower. As regards the town and fortress of Nagapatnam, the Governor has made a proposal to reduce the defence-works." 3

"In the southern districts everything remains as it is. The war between the Neyks of Tansiower and Madura is not yet finished and the first mentioned Neyk is being besieged in his capital by his enemy." 4

"The Neyk of Tansjouwer has closed peace with the Neyk of Madura at the price of 500,000 pardeaux which is a big sum of money. And therefore he has asked the Company to lend him some money, offering to give some addeas or villages as security, but the Governor has declined it. The said Neyk had also asked for payment of the tax of the villages, as half the toll, etc. Although he asked 3,000 pagodas, the Governor has promised to pay 1,000 pagodas for the last 2 years, this being the bigger half, we fixed so high with a view to the present difficulties of the Neyk. The Governor has made a certain proposal to the Neyk regarding the town of Negapatam and if the Neyk agrees, he expects that the Company will get good accommodation and will also benefit otherwise, but he is of opinion that it will not come off. The merchants of the Company are now

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It appears that Bahlol Khan of Bankapur was deputed by the King to put down the rebellion of Shahji and to take possession of the countries conquered by him. The latter was to be dislodged from his strongholds of Arni and Bangalore.

"The said residents further advice that the Neyk of Tansiower had come to an agreement with Balbulachan, the commander-in-chief of Visiapore whereby he promised to pay 300 thousand pardaux. And the said commander-in-chief will now proceed to the fortresses Arny and Wingeloer (Bangalore) against the rebel Sahagie." ²

An astute diplomat like Shahji won over the Bijapur commander to his side. The King was fear-stricken at the approach of Shaista Khan's army and left his capital for taking refuge in Bancapur. At such a critical time both Shahji and Bahlol Khan were to be pardoned for their crimes of treason, but when they came to wait upon the king, they were arrested and put in chains.

This rebellion of Shahji is confirmed by an English letter of 20th July 1663 sent from Goa. Bahlol Khan and Shahji were both imprisoned near Bancapur. 'This Jassud (spy) swears before he came out of Bunckapore he saw irons put on Bussall Ckan and Shagee (Shahji) but taken off of the latter in two dayes: who is now with the King without any command.' ³ The detailed account is given on P. 95 of Part II of this volume. Shahji seems to have been won over by the King and restored to the Governorship of the Karnatic. While he was luckily restored to his

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15. Interview of father and son

The Bakhars assert that Shahji was deputed by Ali Adil Shah to confirm the treaty and counsel his son to keep peace in the Kingdom. Shahji had not visited his jagir and worshipped his family gods for the last twenty-five years. He jumped at the opportunity afforded him by his sovereign to see with his own eyes the work of the wonderful

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16. Shahji at Bangalore

The prosperous city of Bangalore was defended by a deep moat, strong ramparts, and high towers adorned with numerous cannon, and was well-guarded by a large army. The capital presented a very beautiful sight with its stately mansions, lofty and superb temples, lovely groves and green bowers in its exquisitely laid gardens, numerous tanks, broad streets and everflowing fountains. The painted walls in the palaces were designed with wonderful art. Such a poetic description savours of exaggeration, yet it is literally true of modern Bangalore, the Paris of India, and may give us a real picture of the city under its popular ruler Kemp Gauda and under an experienced administrator like Shahji.² It was the capital of the Bijapur Karnatic for a generation under Shahji.

Living in such a charming place, the Raja used to spend his time in hunting, military exercises, in visiting armouries and magazines, in reviewing troops, in singing, dancing and flirting with beautiful damsels; nay, even in visiting Sadhus, studying books and performing meditative practices. Both Shahji and Shah Jahan gave themselves up to a life of ease, amusement, even of voluptuous luxury after 1637, though each of them had led a very hard and sturdy life before that year.

17. Shahji's work in the Karnatic

Shahji was appointed to govern the districts subdued by the Bijapur forces in Karnatic and Dravida, named

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1. G. Duff. P. 85.

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inconoclastic spirit was definitely checked by the appointment of Shahji as Governor of the Karnatic. On the other hand, he became the champion of the Hindu Rajas,¹ of Hindu supremacy and of Hindu culture and literature. Then Marathi became the court language and Marathas were appointed as revenue clerks and collectors. Thus Shahji, during the long viceroyalty extending over one generation, Marathaized the Kanarese population. The administrative system set up by him was faithfully followed by his successors in those parts. To sum up, he was the founder of Greater Maharashtra in the Karnatic.

18. Policy of consolidation

Shahji followed a most remarkable policy of conciliation and consolidation. While he took possession of the capital town of every dispossessed chief and administered the revenues of each principality through his own agents, he granted the ousted chief an estate in some less productive part of his territory. This resulted in bringing under cultivation and attracting population to the more neglected tracts of the country. Thus Basavapattan and its possessions being retained, Tarikere was given to the polygar; Bangalore was taken, but Magadi was left to Kempa Gauda. Similarly, Hoskote was taken and Anekal granted; Kolar was captured but Punganur returned; Sira was taken and Ratnagiri² was retained with the chief. Thus all the ruling Hindu families were continued in existence, and yet these were bound by ties of gratitude to Shahji.

19. The Maratha revenue system in the Karnatic

The Bijapurian Karnatic was distributed into *parganas*. Each of these districts was divided into *samats*, *tarafs*, *mauge*, and *mujare*. Jamadars or collectors were appointed

1. Sh. Bh. XI. 7; XV. 9.

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20. A view of Shahji's life

The salient features of the political career of Shahji are now summarized to enable the reader to have a clear view of the same. In 1621 Shahji captured Poona from the Bijapur officer and obtained the Mokasa of Poona and Shirwal from Malik Amber. After the desertion of his father-in-law Jadhavrao, Shahji and the other Bhosles were the great feudal lords left in the Nizam Shahi State. This is clear from the list of officers who took part in the battle of Bhatwadi in 1624. Shahji distinguished himself in this battle, while his younger brother was killed in an action. He must have then held a high position, because he manfully maintained his independence in his jagir against all the power of Malik Amber in 1625. The Bijapur Court conferred upon Shahji the rare titles of Sarlashkar and Maharaj. He was employed in the conquest of the Karnatic and in putting down the rebellion of the chief of Phaltan. After his return to the Nizam Shahi service, we find him as the Subedar and Commandant of the most important fortress of Parenda in 1630. When he joined the Moguls in this year, he was given the dignity of 5,000 horse and even his cousins were made commanders of 2,000 horse. He was granted the estate of Fateh Khan, the prime minister of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom. After deserting the Moguls, he remained a petty independent ruler. With his own forces he assisted Randulla Khan in conquering Daulatabad. Then he became the King-maker or the actual ruler of the Nizam Shahi State for three years. Even Shah Jahan after hurling vast hordes against Shahji found it impracticable to subdue him, till he had completely

1. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 589-590,

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In 1659 when he commanded the campaign into Tanjore, Mulla Muhammad was his second-in-command. In 1653 he was one of the three greatest lords of Bijapur; so also in 1659 he is described as being of the same rank as Rustam-i-Zaman and Bahlol Khan. From 1661 he is named as the commander-in-chief of the Bijapur forces in the Karnatic. He attempted to set up an independent kingdom in the south during 1659-1663, but the result is not clear from the available sources. His policy, diplomacy and wars so mortally weakened the Tanjore state that it fell an easy prey into the hands of his son Vyankoji. His successors continued to enjoy the fruits of Shahji's labours for generations. In fact, Shahji deserves to be styled the founder of the Maratha rule in Southern India, as his famous son, Shivaji, proved to be the founder of the Maratha Empire in India.

21. Shahji, the inspirer of Shivaji

Shahji ought to be given the full credit for bringing about favourable circumstances for a successful rebellion of his son against the foreign rule. We should not be put on a wrong scent by believing the words of this subtle statesman which he is said to have written to the Bijapur Court that his young son was a rebel against his authority, and that he be severely dealt with by the King in any way which was thought desirable. The following points ought to be kept in view:—

(1) Shahji failed twice in 1630 and 1633-36 in establishing an independent kingdom. He played the role of a king-maker and a real ruler. As such he measured swords with Adil Shah and Shah Jahan.

(2) Shivaji was sent to look after the Poona jagir with Dadoji Kond Deva and other veteran statesmen. They were entrusted with the insuperable task of defending the estate from the encroachment of the Moguls and Bijapurians.

(3) When Shivaji was a mere boy, Chakan was captured by his officers and men who were in name under the boy

Shivarai. This offensive could not have been taken by him without the consent of his father.

(4) The real cause of the arrest of Shahji in 1648 is said by the author of the Shiva Bharat to be his ambition to establish an independent Kingdom in the Karnatic. Mustafa Khan was deputed by the King to imprison Shahji on the basis of this suspicion.

(5) After his release from captivity in 1649, Shahji entered into a sacred alliance with Kanhoji Naik Jedhe which the latter solemnly observed even at the risk of his jagir. Jedhe and Lohokare were to bring all the Mawal Deshmukhs under the authority of Shivaji and to repel the invasions of the Adil Shahi and Mogul forces on Poona. We will be justified in concluding that all the Mawal Deshmukhs of the Konkan were to be subdued after 1649, and that this work was really undertaken by Shivaji under the orders of his father.

(6) Rataji Rupaji Yadav — Deshmukh of Aund, and Vangoji Mudhoji Nimbalkar of Phaltan rebelled against the Bijapur Kingdom. They took the fort of Karad and plundered the rich districts round about. It is confirmed by Jedhe who was requested by Nimbalkar to help him. This Jedhe, being in the service of Shivaji, could now and then goad him to rebellion. It is said by him that after the rebellion of Vangoji Mudhoji Nimbalkar, Shivaji revolted against the King. The attempt to establish Swarajya is called rebellion in contemporary Marathi letters. The European and Muslim writers, one and all, looked upon the attempts of Shivaji to throw off the foreign yoke as a rebellion against the established government. He has been frequently called, 'the arch rebel of the Deccan.'

(7) In 1662-63 Shahji became the mediator between his son and the Bijapur King for concluding a treaty between them. By this subtle act he safeguarded the interests of Shivaji and protected the tender plant of Hindu Swarajya.

(8) Chitnis supplies us with another proof. It is said

that Shahji had taken a vow to donate a golden idol worth one lakh of rupees to the temple at Jejuri for the fulfilment of Shivaji's mission of founding an independent Kingdom, of protecting gods, cows and Brahmins and of establishing the ancient religion. Shahji got a beautiful figure made in the Karnatic and presented it to the temple on the brilliant success of his son.

(9) Then, Gagabhat who as the most eminent scholar of his age, performed the installation rites of Shivaji, calls Shahji 'the new incarnation of the duties of the military class' for protecting the weak and destroying the wicked. (Shivaraj-prashasti)

(10) Even at the close of his life, Shahji tried his best for some three years to throw off the Adil Shahi yoke and govern the Karnatic as an independent King; but even this time he could not realize his ambitious dreams. It is thus evident that a life full of romantic adventures, extraordinary fortitude, wisdom and foresight, and distinguished with statesmanship and generalship of a high order, could not but serve as an illustrious example to Shivaji. He had indeed a rich inheritance and a powerful incentive from his father for establishing Hindwi Swarajya.

22. Chronology

- 1651 War between Mir Jumla and Bijapur. Mir Jumla defeated by the Bijapurians.
- 1652 Peace between Mir Jumla and Bijapur.
- 1653 Aurangzeb came as Viceroy to Burhanpur in October and to Daulatabad in November.
- 1654 Vellore captured and lost by Shriranga, and treaty with Bijapur. Mir Jumla rebelled against Golconda.
- 1655 Golconda army defeated by Shriranga but the latter was ultimately routed.
The war of the Noses between Mysore and Madura.
- 1656 Pulicat besieged by Shriranga. Mahammad Adil Shah died on 4th November and Ali II succeeded.

- 1657 Shriranga defeated by the lieutenant of Mir Jumla. Aurangzeb declared war against Bijapur. A treaty between Ali and Aurangzeb.
- 1658 Shahji invaded Madura and Trichinopoly.
- 1659 Shahji suddenly entered into the territory of Tanjore, and captured its capital and other important towns. Shahi rebelled and marched to the north to join Shivaji.
- 1660 Second siege of Trichinopoly failed. Treaty with Madura.
- 1661 Triple alliance of the rulers of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji.
Tegenapatam and Porto Novo captured by Shahji.
- 1662-3 War between Shahji and the allies. The former ultimately driven from Madura and Tanjore. Tegenapatam besieged by Lingama, but relieved by Shahji. Treaty concluded between Shahji and Lingama, but it was finally disregarded. A Bijapur army under Bahlol Khan raided Tanjore. Bahlol Khan marched against Shahji to expel him from Arni and Bangalore.
War between Tanjore and Madura, concluded by the payment of an indemnity by Tanjore.
Bahlol Khan and Shahji made a common cause against the King. Both of them were imprisoned. Bahlol Khan was murdered, but Shahji was restored to his governorship. Shahji brought about a reconciliation between Shivaji and the Bijapur State.
- 1664 Bednur conquered, but restored to its ruler. Succession disputes at Bednur and the interference of Bijapur in them.
Death of Shahji.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

(See p. 1 of this Part)

Imperfections of the Bakhars

The distinguished historian Rajwade submitted the Marathi Bakhars to a scathing criticism some thirty years back. He summarized his conclusions in Marathi on pp. 67-69, 105-107, 133-239 of Vol. IV of the 'Sources of the History of the Marathas.' Sir J. Sarkar has done the same thing in a general manner. In spite of this, he frequently relies upon the Rairi Bakhar and Tarikh-i-Shivaji. A recent attempt has been made by Mr. V. S. Vakaskar of Baroda to defend this group of Bakhars. In this section I have consequently selected a few passages relating to the life of Shahji alone and shown their unreliability. ¹

The 91 qalmi Bakhar, the Short Chronicle of the Maratha Empire, and Tarikh-i-Shivaji (History of Shivaji in Persian) are related to each other. The last two are based upon the first one. Moreover, there are three different recensions of the 91 qalmi Bakhar:—the one printed by Rajwade, the other by Parasnis and the third used by Forrest for translation into English. All these *six* works supplement each other, but they contain only a few grains of truth buried under the debris of myths and fables. Facts have been jumbled up in such a manner that truth has been murdered, chronology sacrificed and history mutilated. We can scarcely rely on these for the history of Shivaji's ancestors, the life-story of Shahji or the early career of Shivaji.

Section 1:— Babaji Bhosla was a Patil of the village of Hingni Berdi and Devalgaon in the district of Poona, but his sons being dissatisfied with their homes, emigrated to the village of Elora. They supported themselves by agriculture and then went to Sindkhed for service under Jadhavrao. They were appointed door-keepers at 5 huns per month each.

Section 2 :— It is said that Jadhavrao had no son.

Sections 3-5:— relate the story of the Rangpanchami Holi festivities from the antics of Shahji and Jijabai who were only 5 and 3 years old to the discovery of a large treasure by Maloji.

Sections 6-7:— The two brothers asked the help of Jagpal Nimbalkar who was already making depredations in the Nizam's territory. They were given two thousand horse. With a force of three thousand horse, the brothers proceeded to Daula-

The 91 Bakhar does not go beyond Babaji; it gives no real cause for the emigration of his sons to Elora, nor any explanation why Elora was selected for their residence. The whole story is made up to show the low origin of Maloji and his phenomenal rise through divine grace. We have seen that the contemporary sources present an entirely different picture. Pp. 50-53 supra.

He had several sons and grandsons. The names of Raghuji, Dattaji, Achaloji, Bahadurji are known from several sources. P. 80.

The baselessness of these events has been shown on pp. 58-60.

One need not explode the ugliness of this baseless story. Maloji did not need three thousand horse for putting two dead hogs in a mosque at night. After this childish act had been done, the brave Maloji was so mortally afraid of the royal wrath that he returned with

tabad and threw two hogs in a mosque and tied a letter to each of them. Having performed this deed, they returned to Phaltan.

Sections 8-9:—All the three, Maloji, Vithoji and Shahji were granted the ranks of 12,000 horse each, so that they became the equals of Jadhavrao and the marriage was celebrated at Daulatabad in 1603-4.

Section 11:—When Shahji reached the age of 25 years, both his father and uncle died. Soon after he had his first son who was named Sambhaji. In that year Nizam Shah Bahiri died leaving two

post-haste to Phaltan. Then it is simply incredible that the King should have been so much unnerved and fear-stricken at this incident that, instead of punishing Maloji, he should have sent for Jadhavrao from Sindkhed and asked him to pacify the evil-doers. The whole story is no better than a fable to amuse the children.

It is most unlikely that favours should have been shown to the rebels, that the highest lords including Jadhavrao himself should have been sent to receive the two brothers who, three years before, were mere door-keepers of Jadhavrao, and that each of the three should have been given the highest rank in the nobility. Secondly, Daulatabad was not the capital of the Nizam Shahi at that time. The royal family took refuge first in Ausa and then in Parenda up to 1610. P. 69.

(1) Shahji is said to have been born in 1594 and to have become a minister in 1619/20 after the death of Nizam Shah. The latter died in 1627 and not in 1619. Hence if Shahji was really 25 years old at the death

sons who were seven years old. Sabaji Anant recommended Shahji for the post of prime ministership, and the Begums conferred the post on him and entrusted the care of their princes to Shahji.

of Nizam Shah, he must have been born in 1602, the year assigned by me on an altogether independent evidence. P. 58.

(2) In Sh. Dig. (65-66) it is said that sometime before his death, Amber requested the Bijapur Court to return Shahji or to lend the services of Sabaji. The latter is represented to have introduced all the financial reforms for which Amber is so well-known. If Sabaji came to Daulatabad in 1625-6, he could not have made Shahji Vazir in 1619.

(3) Shahji was in the Bijapur service from 1625 to 1628 and thus came to Daulatabad two years after the demise of Nizam Shah. Pp. 68-70.

(4) The Muslim chronicles do not name Sabaji as the Karbhari before or after the demise of Nizam Shah.

Thus this whole section is a concoction.

Section 12:- The rise of Shahji to the post of prime ministership and the ceremony of performing obeisance to him in the open court annoyed Jadhavrao. So the

Jadhavrao left the Nizam Shahi service in 1621 and returned to it in 1630, four years after the death of Murtiza Nizam Shah. He was soon murdered there. It was Fatch

latter with a few other Sardars¹ went over to the Moguls and brought the Mogul army under Mir Jumla to conquer Daulatabad.

Khan and not Shahji who was then the Chief Minister. Hence there was no occasion for Jadhavrao being offended with Shahji. The Bakhars place the desertion of Jadhavrao some six or seven years after it had actually taken place. Pp. 62, 79.

Sections 15-16:— When Jadhavrao and Mir Jumla advanced against Daulatabad, Shahji with the royal family took refuge in the impregnable fort of Mahuli. The invaders hotly pursued the Raja and laid siege to the fort. For six months the siege continued. Shahji suffered much hardship and hence he opened negotiations with the Bijapur Court for being taken up in service there.² Having obtained a Kaul, he escaped from the fort with his wife and son. His wife, being pregnant, could not go far on horseback. She was left with 100 horsemen to look after herself. Jadhavrao soon arrived at the scene

In 1626 Jadhavrao was no doubt in the Mogul service, but there is no mention in Persian or English sources of the siege of Mahuli. No authentic history speaks of Mir Jumla as commander of the Mogul force in 1626-27.

1. The same story is repeated in Sh. Dig. (Pp. 45-46). It names Shirke and Mahadik among the rebellious Sardars.

2. Sh. Dig. (48-49) has the same version. There is some extra information. Asharam Khoja entered into a plot with the Begams against Shahji. Naro Trimal and Mazumdar Hanmante were sent as vakils or envoys of Shahji.

and moved by the appeals of his followers and of his daughter, sent her to Shivneri which was in the possession of Shahji.

*Section 16:—*Shahji left the fort of Mahuli and went to Bijapur. There he waited upon Sultan Sikander Shah. He was given the command of 12,000 troops and a jagir in the Karnatic. Mir Jumla, failing to seize the Raja, returned disappointed to Delhi.

Even the name of the Bijapur King is not known, nor is the name of the Mogul Commander. How can we rely on such a history for true details? Sane's edition mentions the command of 10,000 horse being given to Shahji.

Section 17:— This section is full of the most egregious blunders and the most unreliable fables. It is said that after Shahji's departure from Mahuli and the raising of the siege by the Moguls, the Nizam Shahi royalty was brought to Daulatabad by Sabaji Anant. He was asked by the Begums to find out a most suitable man for being the prime minister. The Pandit was one day going through a street and

Malik Amber was serving the Nizam Shahi State from the time of Chand Bibi and he died in May 1626, while Shahji is said to have left Mahuli in the beginning of 1627. Thus these Bakhars allege that Amber began service in the Nizam Shahi State one year after his own death and that too in the wonderful manner described in the 91 Q. Bakhar. He is represented to have again defeated Mir Jumla near Asirgarh. ¹

1. Sh. Dig. (P. 55). Mir Jumla was reprimanded by the Emperor for finishing the war without the complete conquest of the Nizam Shahi State. Hence he again returned with a resolve to capture Daulatabad this time. Further on Pp. 56-58, Amber is represented to have defeated Mir Jumla once more and even Prince Aurangzeb himself. These are fibs and not historic truths.

he accidentally came across a Fakir lying on the ground. By looking at the beggar for some time, he found out that he would be a most capable minister. So he was given a bath, brought before the Begums, and appointed prime minister. The beggar was no other than Malik Amber who had been a servant of Changiz Khan, a minister of the king of Bijapur.

Sections 18-19:—It is said that Malik Amber proceeded against Bijapur, but was defeated and pursued up to the bank of the Bhima. Though the river was in flood, it gave way to Amber's troops, but again rose high at the approach of the pursuing army. Thus the saintly character of Amber has been proved.

In Sane's Bakhar it is said that Malik Amber dispersed the Bijapur army at Bhatwadi; at that time Sahaji went to the Karnatic¹ and that on

The Malik was never defeated near Bijapur. He burnt down the suburb of Nauraspur and raided the territory to his heart's content in 1624. P. 66.

The battle was fought in 1624, the weighing ceremony took place in 1633 and Shahji was sent to the Karnatic in 1637. These three different

1. Sh. Dig. (Pp. 59-60) has the following:—Malik Amber and Jadhav raided Poona, etc. Shahji bravely fought in defence. Finally, he defeated both the raiding generals, and pursued them for four kosas. He could not go further on account of the floods. They encamped at Koregaon on the Bhima. On the day of the solar eclipse, Murari went to Nangar Gaon (Tulapur) and performed the weighing ceremony. The way of weighing the elephant was told by Shahji. In reward for this service, Shahji was made Sursubha of the Karnatic. His son Sambhaji was already there.

his return from this battle, Murari performed the weighing ceremony.

Section 20:—Poona is said to be the stronghold of the robber chief, Martand Deo. Murari plundered the town, razed it to the ground and caused its soil to be ploughed by asses. As the country was greatly desolated, Murari conferred the whole tract from the frontier of Poona and the fort of Chakan to that of Wai, Sarwai (Shirwal), Supa and Indapur as jagir on Shahji after the weighing ceremony at Tulapur. According to Sane's edition, even Junner fort was included in Shahji's jagir.

Kond Deva, the Kulkarni of Hangni Berdi was appointed Karbhari and he was asked to look after Jijabai and Shivaji.

Section 21:— (1) Shahji made a resolution never to see Jijabai or his son Shivaji, and he consequently married Tukabai, daughter of one

events have been jumbled up into one by the chronicle.

The weighing ceremony took place in 1633 and Shivaji and his mother are represented to have come to Poona in that year, but it is not borne out by other chronicles. Shahji was in the grip of difficulties and could never have hazarded to place his family at Poona in 1633. Murari was sent against Shahji who had revolted after his father-in-law's murder in 1630, to expel him from Poona. After the burning of the place by Murari, Shahji returned to Shivneri and took shelter with its ruler. Three years after, Murari was sent to help Shahji against the Moguls and to revive the Nizam Shahi monarchy. It was during this expedition that the weighing ceremony was performed. But the 91 Q. Bakhar has made a mess of both these expeditions and added the unreliable news that Murari conferred a jagir upon Shahji.

(1 According to the Sh. Dig., Shahji married Tukabai at Bijapur in 1549 Shaka (1627) before Shivaji was born. It means a difference of more than

Mohite after Shivaji was placed under Dadaji Konddeva.

(2) Sultan Sikandar died in the year when Shahji sent a present to Dadaji Konddeva for his exemplary honesty. Both Murari Jagadev and Shahji were then at Bijapur.

(3) Later on Murari was put to death by order of the Begums.¹

(4) Soon afterwards the Begums sent a large army against Daulatabad. They were met at Bhatari by Malik Amber.

ten years. The same chronicle (Pp. 53,62) says that Sambhaji was born at Daulatabad in 1545 Shaka (1622 A. D.) and he was killed at the age of eight at Kanakgiri. This statement is wrong, because Shahji left off the service of Bijapur in 1628 and returned to Daulatabad. He again joined Bijapur service in 1637. 91 Q. Bakhar (sect. 21) says that after the death of Sambhaji, his son Umaji Raja who had married a daughter of the house of Jintikar continued to fight with the Polygar.

(2) Even the name of the king of Bijapur is not known to the author. It was Muhammad Shah and not Sikandar Shah. He died in 1656, Malik Amber in 1626 and Murari in 1635. Yet the latter two are said to have been living after 1656.

(3) Murari was put to death by order of Muhammad Shah in 1635, and not by his Begums after 21 years.

(4) The battle of Bhatavadi was fought in 1624 and yet the event is placed after 1656.

1. Sh. Dig. (P. 72) has the same anachronism that Murari was disgraced and put to death by the Begums, inspite of his becoming a renouncing the world.

Section 22:— It is said that after the death of Murari, Shahji established himself in the Karnatic, assisted the Nayak of Madura, killed Vijayaraghava, captured Tanjore and appointed his son Venkoji to rule the country.

After the conquest of Ginji the Muslims entered Tanjore and wrought incalculable havoc, but were finally repelled up to Ginji. Shahji was a prisoner at Kanakgiri and hence could have no part in plundering Tanjore. Vijayaraghava died in 1674, ten years after the death of Shahji. Tanjore was conquered by Ekoji in that year. Therefore Shahji had no hand in the conquest of Tanjore. ¹

Section 23:— 1) Malik Amber and Sabaji died in that year at Daulatabad. Shah Jahan lost no time in sending Aurangzeb.

(1) Malik Amber died in May 1626. Shah Jahan had not come to the throne till Jan. 1628, yet he is said to be sending Aurangzeb to conquer Daulatabad.

(2) Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla to the Deccan.

(2) Prince Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan on 14th July 1636 and continued in that office for eight years up to 28th May 1644. Mir Jumla was not with him. That General was then in the Golconda service.

(3) The object was to conquer Daulatabad which they soon captured.

(3) Daulatabad had already been captured by the Moguls in 1633.

(4) Aurangzeb is said to have changed the name of Khirki to Aurangabad in 1653.

(5) Aurangzeb is said to have been defeated by the Bijapuri forces and to have

(4. It was in his first vice-

returned to Aurangabad where he stayed for some years in administering the affairs of the Deccan.

royalty that this change was made and not in 1653.

(5) He led his army into the Bijapur territory in February 1657, conquered the most impregnable forts of Bidar and Kalyani, so that Bijapur was forced to sue for peace. Aurangzeb was soon called back to the north on account of the severe illness of Shah Jahan.

To ascribe the composition of this Bakhar to 1685 is an egregious blunder.¹ It is incredible that the author writing this history of Shivaji only five years after his death, should not know the elementary facts of his life. He places the death of Afzal Khan in 1652 and the Karnatic expedition before the coronation in 1673 (Pp. 147/150, 154). We are told that Raigad was made capital before the death of Chandrarao More, i. e. in 1654 (P. 57). Shahji is said to have been seized by Baji Ghorpade after the death of Afzal Khan, and to be released from imprisonment (say in 1661) through the intercession of Randulla Khan who had died in 1643 (P. 116). He is represented to be living at the time of the imprisonment of Shivaji at Agra (P. 101). It is asserted that the Raja performed the coronation ceremony soon after his release from Agra (P. 105). The Mogul offensive of 1669-72 is placed *after* the desertion of Sambhaji in 1679 (P. 110). Shivaji is said to have gone on an expedition to chastise Shivappa of Bednur when Rajaram was born. Shivappa was murdered in 1662 and Rajaram was born in 1670. Yet the two events are made synchronous (P. 112). Finally, the author reveals the time of the composition of the Bakhar when he says that the

1, Vakaskar, Shivachhatrapatichi 91 Q. Bakhar, p. 2. The references to pages in this para are to 1939 edition of this book,

two sons of Ekoji died without any issue, but Tukoji the youngest son, had one issue 'whose descendants *are still* reigning at Tanjore' (P. 45). So the Bakhar might have been written in the reign of Pratapsingh' (1739-1763) and not in 1685.

Thus it is evident that the 91 Q. Bakhar and the other five chronicles dependent upon it are full of anachronisms, inconsistencies and improbabilities, and hence their accounts are mostly incorrect and unreliable.

APPENDIX II

(See p. 37 supra)

Shivaji's Ancestry.

A genealogical tree of the ancestors of Shivaji was prepared after much research by order of Raja Pratapsinhji of Satara. Therein the order of names is as under:—

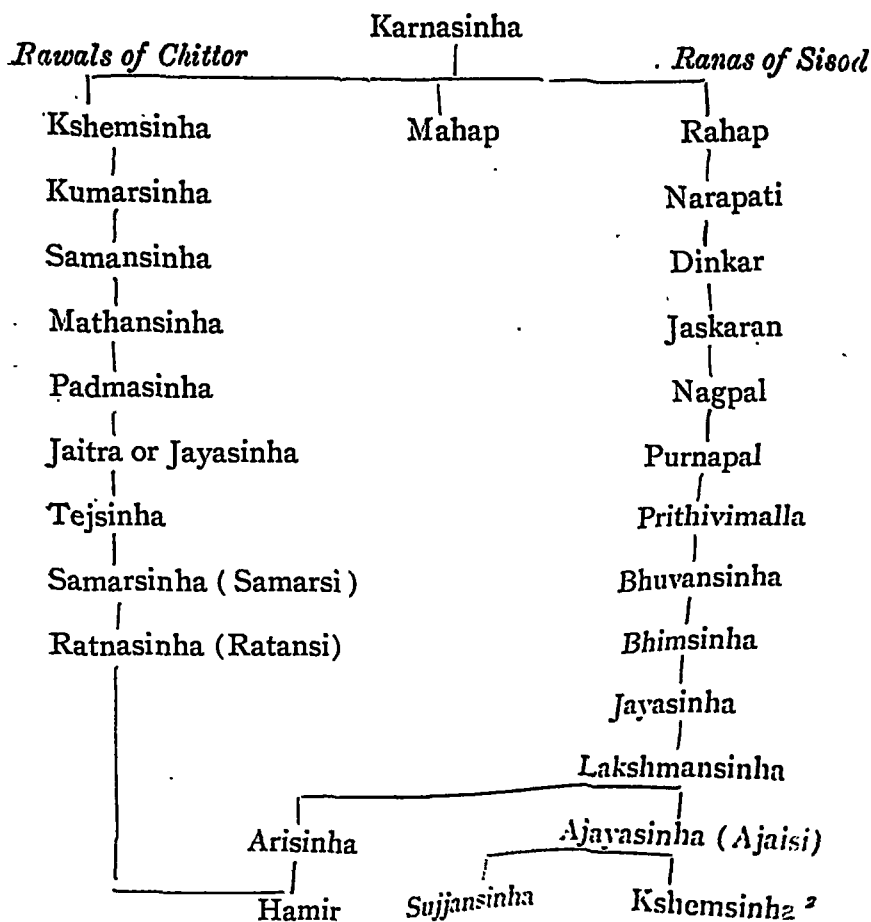
Pratapsen, Suhagsinha, Samarsinha, Lakshmansinha, Rajansinha, Dilipsinha, Sinhaji, Bhosaji, Deorajaji, Indrasenaji, Shubhakrishnaji, Rupasinhaji, Bhumindraji, (Ba)paji, Barhadji, Khelaji, Karnasinha, Sambhaji, Babaji Maharaj, Maloji, Shahji Maharaj, Shivaji Maharaj.

In this geneology based on the information supplied by the Bhats, Lakshmansinha has been shown as the son of Samarsinha. But Ratnasinha or Ratnasi was really the son and successor of Samarsi, and he and his wife Padmini laid down their lives in defending Chittor from the Muslim hosts. Lakshmansinha belonged to a different branch and was not a descendant of Samarsi or Samarsinha.

Even the ancestors of Samarsinha are wrongly given in the Satara geneology. From the four inscriptions of the Vikram Era 1330, 1342, 1496 and 1517, used by Gauri Shankar Ojha, it appears that Padmasinha, Jayasinha, Tejsinha and Samarsinha were the successive ancestors of Ratnasi.

1. K. R. Subramanian, *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, Madras, 1928.

Mr. Ojha has constructed the following genealogy of the two branches of the solar dynasty on the basis of inscriptions.¹



(captures Chittor from the Muslims and unites Chittor and Sisod under one rule)

(These migrated to the Deccan)

1. The History of Rajputana, Vol. I, pp. 441, 522.

2. In the Mudhol Bhatkar Manuscript is Ajab Singh

committed suicide,

The genealogical trees of Shivaji's ancestors

1. *Kolhapur Durbar* 2. *Tod* 3. *Chitnis and* 4. *Stone inscription of*
Satara Museum *Tanjore*

- | | | | |
|---|--------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Lakshmnnsinha died 1303 | 1. Ajeysi | 1. Lakshmansinha | 1. Yekoji |
| 2. Sajjansinha came to Sonda-vada in 1310 | 2. Sujunsi | 2. Sajjansinhaji | 2. Sharbhji came to the South |
| 3. Dilipsinha | 3. Dulcepji | 3. Dilipsinhaji | 3. Mahasen |
| 4. Shivaji | 4. Seoji | 4. Sinhaji | 4. Ekashiva |
| 5. Bhosaji | 5. Bhoraji | 5. Bhosaji | 5. Ram-chandra |
| 6. Devarajji | 6. Deoraj | 6. Devarajji came into the South in 1415 | 6. Bhimarai |
| 7. Ugrasen | 7. Oogursen | 7. Indrasenji | 7. Ekoji |
| 8. Mahulaji | 8. Mahoolji | 8. Shubhakrishna | 8. Varah |
| 9. Kheloji | 9. Khailooji | 9. Rupasinhaji | 9. Ekoji |
| 10. Janakoji | 10. Junkoji | 10. Bhumindraji | 10. Brahmaji |
| 11. Sambhaji | 11. Suttooji | 11. Dhapaji | 11. Shahji |
| 12. Babaji | 12. Sambaji | 12. Barbataji | 12. Ambaji-Revavu |
| 13. Maloji | 13. Sevaji | 13. Khelakarna or Kheloji | 13. Parasoji |
| 14. Shahji | | 14. Karnasinha or Jaykarna | 14. Babaji-Revavu |
| 15. Shivaji | | 15. Sambhaji | 15. Maloji-Uma |
| | | 16. Babaji | 16. Shahji |
| | | 17. Maloji | 17. Ekoji |
| | | 18. Shahji | |

Jintikar¹ Bhonsle of Gwalior gives the names of only six ancestors:—Bakhataji came into the south; then followed Nagoji (Sh. 1379), Vyankoji, Babaji, Vithoji (Sh. 1430), Maloji, Shahji.

The geneology given in the Tanjore Inscription is hopelessly wrong and worthless. The geneological trees of Kolhapur and Chitnis are wrong in skipping over Ajaysinha or Ajaisi, the son of Lukhamshi (Lakshman Sinha) and the father of Sujjansinha. Both are incorrect in having the 4th descendant as Shivaji and Sinhaji. In the Sanad, he is called Sidhaji. The 7th descendant is called by Chitnis Indrasen. The Mudhol Bakhar (P. 88) says that Indrasen was known as Ugrasen for the terror that he struck in the hearts of his enemies. He was also known as Ugra Sinha. But we should stick to Ugrasen only, as this name is found in the Sanads. The names from the 8th degree are different in all the four trees, but the last three names of Babaji, Maloji and Shahji are the same in all the five geneologies. The names of these immediate ancestors of Shivaji are borne out by various documents. The intermediate names must remain doubtful till some genuine grants and letters can throw light on them. The correct geneology is given below:—

1. Jintikar Bhosles are descendants of Shahji —

```

Shahji
|
Sambhaji
|
Umaji Raje ( B. 25th Nov, 1654. )
|
Parsoji ( adopted ),
|
Jintikars of Gwalior.

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Mr. M. G. Dongre has given two more geneologies prepared by Mr. Bhide and Rao Bahadur Sane, but they are of no value. (The Geneological Tree of the Bhonsla Family. Pp. 5-6.) The geneological tree preserved in the Satara Museum is identical with the one given by Chitnis in his chronicle. Ibid.

True ancestry of Shivaji

On the basis of Sanads	{	Lakshmansinha	
		Ajayasinha	
		Sujjansinha	departed for the South in
		Dilipsinha	about 1320 A. D.
		Sidhoji	
		Bhairoji or Bhosaji	
		Devarajji	
		Ugrasen	
Tentative	{	Shubhakrishna	
		Rupsinha	
		Bhumendraji	
		Dhopaji	
		Barhatji	
		Kheoloji ¹	It is incredible that the author of the Shahi Makrand writing about the ancestry of his patron Shahji in 1650 should have committed any mistake in naming his immediate ancestors.
Documents	{	Parsoji	
		Babaji	
		Maloji	
		Shahji	
		Shivaji	

The Senior Branch of the Bhosles of Mudhol

Ugrasen	{	Sanad 5
Karansing		
Bhimsing		
Kheoloji.		Sanad 6
Kheoloji		Sanads 7-8
Maloji		Sanad 9

1. These have been preferred to the names given in other genealogies. In the Bhosal Vanshavali Parsoji is said to be the father of Babaji.

Abhaising	} Sanad 10
Karansing	
Cholraj	
Pilaji	Sanad 11
Pratapsinha	Sanad 11
Bajiraje	Sanad 19
Maloji	Sanad 22

(See p. 56 supra.)

APPENDIX III

The Bhosles are Rajputs

The Kshatriya origin of the family of Shivaji has been proved from the sanads. A few other contemporary evidences may be mentioned here:—

1. *Shiva Bharat* I. 41-42; II. 59; XXIV. 74. Maloji and Shahji are described as belonging to the Solar dynasty.
2. *Parnal Parvatgrahan Akhyan* gives Sisodia as the family of Shivaji.
3. *Sabhasad* (P. 82): Pure Kshatriya Sisodia family of the north.
4. *Bhushan's Shivaraj*: Maloji is born of the best Kshattriya Solar family of the Sisodias. 5-6 couplets.
5. *Shahji* calls himself a Rajput in a letter addressed to the King of Bijapur. Doc. 710 in P. S. S.
6. *Bhundhela Memoirs*. Scott's History of the Dekkan, p. 4:—Sisodia Rajputs.
7. *Khafi Khan*: Descended from the Ranas of Chittor.
8. *Ramchandrapant's Royal Edict*: Describes Shivaji as an ornament of the Kshattriyas.
9. *Radha-Madhav-Vilas Champu*: This book was written by Jayaram between 1654-58 and its testimony is most trustworthy.

Shahji Bhosla descended from Sisodia Rajputs—pp. 257, 268, 269, 270.

That he belongs to the solar dynasty, is mentioned on pages 267, 269.

10. *Gaurishankar-Ojha*: in his History of Rajputana Vol. II, 514 on the basis of Rajput sources traces the Bhosles to the Sisodias
11. *An English letter*: of 28th November 1659 describes Sevagy "a great Rashpoote." Shivaji Vol. I. P. 54; Nos. 20, 24 of P. S. S.
12. *An English letter*: of 10th December 1659:— Rashpootes are differentiated from other Hindus. Shivaji Vol. I. P. 51.
13. *Tod's Rajasthan* Vol. I. gives the geneological tree of Shivaji wherein Ajeysi or Ajayasinha is the founder of this new branch. (Pp. 225, 288. Madras Edition 1873).
14. *Russel's Castes and Tribes* of C. P. Vol. IV. P. 200:—
 "In 1836 Mr. Enthoven states the Sesodia Rana of Udepur, the head of the purest Rajput houses, was satisfied from the inquiries conducted by an agent that the Bhonsles and certain other families had a right to be recognized as Rajputs."
15. *A letter of the Maharana of Udepur*:
 This result of the enquiry is to be had in the two letters published in the Sidhanta Vijaya by Mr. Dongre. There is a letter from the Maharana of Udepur and another from the Royal Priest Amreshwar of Udepur to Maharaj Shri Pratapsinha of Satara. Therein it is said that "you are our near kindred. No difference regarding matters of that and this place is to be kept in mind. Originally we are one."

16. *Historical Sketch of the Native States of India* by Col. G. B. Malleeson (1875). Pp. 254-255:—

“According to Maratha tradition Shivaji claimed descent from that branch of the Royal Family of Udaipur, which reigned in Dongarpur. One of the disinherited sons of the thirteenth ruler of that family left his father's house for Bijapur, entered the services of the king of that place, and was recompensed for his services by the grant of the district of Mudhol comprising eighty-four villages and the title of Raja. This man who was called Sujunshi had four sons, from the youngest of whom, Sugaji, Sivaji claims to be directly descended. ”

17. *Historical Sketch of the Princes of India* by Clunes. P. 130: -

“One of the latter, named Sujunsee, came to the Deccan and entered the service of the king of Bijapur, who conferred upon him the district of Moodhul comprising 84 villages with the title of Rajah. Sujunsee had four sons; Bajee Raja, in whose line descended the Mudholkar Estate; the second died without family; from Wolubsye is Ghorpuray of Kapsi; Sugajee, the youngest, had a son named Bhosajee, from whom are derived all the Bhonslays.¹ He had ten sons, the eldest settled at Deoolgaor, near Patne, the Patel of which Maloojee Raja, was an active partisan under the king of Ahmednagar, and had a jahageer conferred upon him,

which descended to his son Shahajee, afterwards a principal Maratha leader, under the Bijapoor dynasty. He acquired, in the Jahagir, nearly the whole of what now forms the Collectorship of Poona, together with the part of the territory now under Satara and it was in these valleys that his son, Shivaji, matured his plan of Hindu independent sovereignty."

There are many inaccuracies in this account, yet the central fact of Shivaji's Rajput origin is undisputed.

APPENDIX IV

(See p. 47 supra.)

Mudhol Sanads

No. 6. Kheloji confirmed in his jagirs and titles

"Our exalted and holy mind has been convinced of the fact that Raja Kheloji Bahadur Ghorpade, the son of Raja Bhimasing and the grandson of Raja Karnasing Ghorpade, has acquired Mudhol and its surrounding 84 villages and the Forts in the Pargana of Ben (Wai) and the Mansab and the title by his most arduous, whole-hearted and excellent services in the Royal cause during the Bahamani Rule. We have confirmed the same Jagir, Mansab and the ancient title of Raja Kheloji Bahadur Ghorpade and have made him 'Sarfaraz'. Following in the wake of his father, grand-father and ancestors, therefore, he should serve faithfully and arduously for the welfare of this Dowlat, and retaining Mansab, Jagir and Forts should enjoy them, so that he may be eligible for promotion in future. 896 A. H." 1491 A. D.

No. 7. Seal of Kasim Bareed

After wishing the welfare of Raja Kheloji Ghorpade the one in the enjoyment of Royal favour:—At present some evil-doers have started quarrels and are now showing eagerness to

fight, so have done damage to the foundation of the Empire. So, at this juncture, the presence of one who has stood the test by trustworthiness and valour at the capital is highly desirable. Hence immediately on receipt of this you should be present at the capital with the troops under your command and be expectant of royal favours. Dated the 13th day of Safar Hijri year 901 = 1496 A. D.

No. 8. Seal of Sultan Mahmud Bahamani

Raja Kheloji Ghorpade, the one expectant of Royal favour, is hereby informed that due to the cropping up of certain matters in our empire the attendance at Court of the well-wishers like you is necessary. Hence you should report yourself immediately on receipt of this and get the benefit of our Imperial audience. The forces under your command should accompany you; it is necessary. Your House has stood the test for reliability in this ancient Bahamani Empire. Hence further explanation on this subject is here superfluous. Dated 22nd Rajab Hijri 896—31 May 1491.

No. 9. Firman of Ismail Adil Shah to Maloji

This auspicious Firman is issued to Raja Maloji Ghorpade—highly distinguished for valour, one ever ready to risk his life, the leader of the brave, the chosen wielder of the sword, the pearl in the ocean of distinction, a jewel set in the ring of victory, the weapon to destroy the shield of the enemy, the thrower of the lasso on the parapet of victory and fame, the unparalleled in valour and strength, the foremost in the battlefield of unwavering loyalty, the fully devoted well-wisher, the chief and brilliant gem in the crown of the Imperial grace, one closely acquainted with heavenly Government and enjoying the fullest confidence, one ready to risk his own life—to Raja Maloji Ghorpade Bahadur; that after the massacre of Kamalkhan of unripe mind, Amir Kasim Barid overstepped the boundary of dignity at the

assistance of Nizamshah, Kutubshah and Imadshah, and advanced with an army towards our territory, as a result of which he had to take part in the tremendous fight at Allapur in the neighbourhood of Bijapur. It can only be compared with the deluge. On this critical occasion your father fell on the field after working havoc in the ranks of the enemies and left a name of valour and bravery on the page of time. When on the banks of Krishna in the action against Timraj of Vigayanagar's army, we had to slightly withdraw our army, owing to the numerical superiority of the enemy, when the ways of safety to the river-crossing were blockaded from all directions, we were very uneasy at the situation, on that occasion you, the treasure of our confidence, without the least regard for your life, by thousands of repeated rushes at the enemy, relieved us from the life-destroying whirlpool and escorted us to the shores of safety. For this grand deed praises were showered on you from both heaven and earth. It was a great exploit by which you have been brought to the Imperial notice that you in return for your exploit have made yourself deserving of a great many royal favours. It was opened to our luminous mind that you the faithful have your devoted mind reduced among your equals on account of the formality of "Kurnish" and "Zamin Bosi;" so we have excused you from the labour of this formality. Because to sacrifice one's own self and to risk one's own life are quite different from formalities. It is unjust to burden faithful persons with customary and formal services. The chamberlains of the Court are informed of the fact that they should not trouble you with these obligations, so that you should strive for the prosperity of the Empire with a happy mind and a satisfied heart. In addition to this we have given you permission to use two Morchels. Dated 928 Hijri = 1522 A. D.

No. 10. Firman of Ali Adilshah to Cholraj

The following Firman is issued by Ali Adilshah to Cholraj, the son of Karnasing and grandson of Akhaising:-

All the valour and bravery exhibited by your forefathers in the great war, and their endless exertions in the destruction of the enemy, have come under our holy observation. On the said critical occasion your father Karnasing gave up his life only after slaughtering a great many of the enemies, and thus enlisted his name in the roll of the valiant and faithful heroes of the world. Keeping in mind all these services and valour, we have bestowed on you the Jagir of Mudhol including the eighty four villages, and the tracts round about Raibag, Hukeri, and the forts and forty villages situated in the Paragana of Ben (Wai), which have been continued to this day in your family from ancient times, along with Pargana Torgal. And we have conferred on you the rank of the "Commander of Seven Thousand" and for the expenses of the armies at Mudhol you are granted villages near "Kallur". So you should always keep yourself in possession of these grants, authority, Jagir, villages and forts, and exert yourself to the utmost in the service of this Kingdom. You should also know that herein lies your welfare. Dated Hijari year 972—1564 A. D.

No. 11. Firman of Ibrahim Shah to Pratapsinha

This devoted servant of God came to learn on this occasion through petition from Sardars of this (Gadi) Kingdom and the defenders of this Empire that Raja Cholraj Ghorpade's son, Raja Pilaji Ghorpade, after discharging the duties of the Royal service, faithfully and whole-heartedly went to the other world as God willed. His son Pratapsinha Ghorpade is exerting himself arduously in the service in place of his father and is brave and faithful. Remembering the claims of his father's services, the grant of Kasaba Mudhol and 84 villages and his father's Mansab of 7000 and Jagirs have been recognised and confirmed upon him and he is thus honoured. Following the path of his ancestors, he should

be dutiful, faithful, honest and ardent in service and should enjoy the Mansab and Jagir and other Royal favours. He should realize that in our gratification lies his welfare. Dated 11 Rabilaval 1007 A. H.—1598 A. D.¹

APPENDIX V

(See p. 76 supra)

The English Records on Khan Jahan

Shah Jahan came to Burhanpur in the beginning of the year 1630 to put down the rebellion of his Viceroy, Khan Jahan Lodhi, and to reconquer the parts of the Nizamshahi State which were ceded back by the Viceroy without the order of the Emperor. During his stay of two years in the Deccan, he rooted out the rebellion, overawed the Deccan kingdoms, and had the satisfaction to see that his rebellious Viceroy was despatched to the other world. These events have been referred to in the following contemporary English letters:

“The Country is in peace and quietness, and the King in Barampore (Burhanpur), intending a warre against the Deccannees.”¹

“Our project against Damon and Diu is growne cold; wee doubt through sinister informaciouns of this Governoor, inclined more to the Portugall then to us, as

Mulhier and
Daman
threatened,

we gather by some passages between them.

Yett is the King now in Brampore, and (it is)

said hee will fall uppon the Rajaes of Mullier and Abnagar, bordering uppon Damon; whoe, although they pay him yearely tribute and acknowledgement of homage were never truly subdued nor will surrender their fortresses or castles into the Kings hands, as hee hath required. These brought into subjeccion, itt is likely hee will bee doing with the Portugalls country about Damon or Bassein, though the cittie and cittadell of Damon ittselfe bee not pregnable without forces by sea, to keepe them from succor

1. No. 11 of Mudhol Mss.

2. O. C. 1306, Swally Marine, 13 April 1630.

and releife. Others say hee will fall into Decan, pretending a conquest of that country; which is likeliest. Soe soone as the raines are past, wee shall see what are his intents. His owne country is in peace and quietness, and for ought wee understand likely soe to continue, having pollitickly wrought his owne securitie by cutting off all the blood royall, without leaving any butt his owne sonnes that canne lay claime to his crowne; and then impoverishing his amrawes or nobles by taking from them all their treasure and livings, allowing noe more then will maintaine them barely in an ordinary state." ¹

"Wee can expect noe lovely vend thereof, especially by reason of the present warrs with Decan, which wee hope are now drawing to their period by the subtill contrivance of Assuff Chaun, the great favorite, who with a powerfull armye is gon out with pretended show to effect that by force which betwixt him and the great ambrawas of that councell they intend to performe by an underhand composition of peace, thereby to save (as much as in them lyes) the honour of the King, who shalbee made beleve that his power, and not his secret pollicie, shall have brought to passe soe great a victory aymed at." ²

Asaf Khan in
the Deccan.

"Will now wait for better markets, in view of the expected termination of the wars in the Deccan." ³

"The King still prosecutes his warrs with Decan, and hath lately atcheived a petty victory against Ckaun Jehaun." ⁴

A direfull famine and a continuous war in the Deccan have put a stop to trade in 1630.

"This direfull tyme of,dearth and the Kings continued warrs with the Decans disjoynd all trade out of frame; the former calamitie haveing fild the waies with desperate multitudes, who, setting their lives att nought, care not what they enterprize soe they may but purchase meanes for feeding, and will not dispence with the

Famine in 1630.

1. O. C. 1306, Swally Marine. 13 April 1630,
2. Surat Factory Outward Letter Bk. Vol. I. P. 74, 12 Nov. 1630
3. Ibid. Vol. I. P. 103, Surat to Ahmadabad, 30 Nov. 1630
4. Ibid. Vol. I. P. 112, Surat to Masulipatam. 3 Dec. 1630

nakedest passenger not soe much as our poore pattamars with letters, who, if not murthered on the way, doe seldome escape unryffed and thereby our advises often miscarried on the other side. The warrs with Decan haveing stopped up all passages, and accustomed conflowence of marchants to and from those parts are intercepted whereby the vend, not only of your currall (whose greatest expence is in Decan) wilbe hindered, but likewise your freight and customes in Persia much lessened by the want of those finer goods out of Decan, in whose liew your ships are only fraught with these of groser quallitie." ¹

"The king being now resolved (or at least likely) to continew his residence in that place, for it seemes he prosecutes the warrs with Decan. " ²

The letter of 10th June 1631 gives an account of the heroic death of Khan Jahan Lodhi, of the triple alliance of the Deccan States against Shah Jahan and of the expected invasion of a pretender for the throne of Delhi.

"The warrs with Decan are yett still contynued, but with slowe mocion and small successe or performance. Ckaun

Honourable
death of Khan
Jahan.

Jehaune, in his flight from thence towards his owne countrey being interrupted in his passage and persued by Abdela Ckaun with advantage of nomber, encountered the terrour

of his desperate fortunes and with admirable courage preffred an honourable death (which the marks of 15 wounds well testified) before that life that must have suffred the scorne and contempt of his persecutors, and so finished his daies amongst the thickest of his enemyes fighting. The Kinge

Triple alliance
of Deccan kings.

nevertheles desists not in his aymes against Decan, whose three kings are now strongly confederated which before were partely

devided. And in the interim Balsuneber, the sonne of Jehaunguires brother, who of the bloud royall being the only man that surviveth, and having formerly conveyed

1. O. C. 1335. Surat to Company. 31 December 1630.

2. O. C. 1342. From Surat. 23 February 1631.

himselfe into the Tartarian territoryes is there linckt in matrimony with the King of (blank) his daughter and assisted by his father in lawe both with men and moneys, layes clayme to Cabull, Multan, and all those parts towards Lahore; which is thought will begett a peace with the Decans and divert the thoughts of this kinge that wave."¹

The war in the Deccan was coming to an end, but the calamities resulting from the famine were intensified.

"The warre with Decan is at a pawse and a peace now in treaty, though the armies on neither side dismissed, (and?) the King still in Brampore; which preventing the supplies of corne to these parts from those others of greater plenty, and the raynes hereabout having falen superfluously, which with bad government is cause of the highest extreame of scarcity, wheate and rice being rissen to 2½ sere for a mamoodée, butter at a seare and a quarter, a hen at 4 or 5 Ma (moodées) and rare it is to see one; and to afflict the more, not a family throughout either here or Broach that hath not been vissited with agues, feavours, and pestilentiall diseases. God avert these judgements from us, and give us strength to suffer His chastisements with patience."²

"This base Kinge contynueh ungratefully his warrs on Decan and prosecuteth them most wilfully, tho the famine and their good successe hath hitherto made him much the looser. Now lately he hath sent Asaph Caun upon them (against his will) with 40 or 50,000 horse which will be to little purpose. The Shawe his embassadour is dispeeded from Brampore, where the Kinge is; and (as is reported) the Governor of Agra beares him company as embassadour back again."³

"The King, being in Brampore, hath taken up 800 camells of ours. You must prevent the comying out of

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 34. P. 3. Surat to Persia, 10 June 1631.

2. O. C. No. 1374. Surat to Bantam, 8 September 1631.

3. O. C. No. 1416, Surat to Persia, 23 January 1632.

" In return he has promised that, if Chhatarsal fails to pay, his wakil in the royal camp shall be imprisoned. Hopes to receive the royal farman in four or five days: it 'wants but the Kings choop' (stamp : Hindi. Chhap)." ¹

APPENDIX VI

(See p. 77 supra)

Composition of Shah Jahan's army in 1630

The first was commanded by Schaast Chan (Shaista Khan), the Son of Assaph-Chan, and consisted of several Regiments, to wit, that of Schaast-Chan, which was of five thousand Horse. 5000

That of his Father consisting of
five thousand Horse, all Rasboutes. 5000

Sadoch Chan.	3000
Myrsa Sedt Madaffer,	3000
Giasar Chan.	2500
Seid Jaffer.	2000
Jafter Chan.	2100
Mahmud Chan.	1000
Alawerdi Chan.	1000
Sasdel-Chan Badary.	2000
Myrsa-Seer-Seid.	700
Baaker-Chan.	500

Whereto were added besides, four thousand six hundred Mansebdars, in several loose Companies.

The Second Body, under the Command of Eradet-Chan, consisted of the following Regiments.

That of Erade-Chan, of	4000
Rau-Donda (Ram Dhonda)	1000
Dorcadas (Durgadas)	1200
Kerous.	1200

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. I. P. 647. Royal Camp at Narbada to Surat, 25 August 1636.

Ram Tschend Harran (Ram Chand Hada)	1200
Mustapha-Chan.	1000
Jakout-Chan (Yakut Khan).	2000
Killously.	3000
Sidi Fakir.	1000
Eca Berkendas.	1000
Jogi-Rasgi, the Son of Lala Berting	7000
Teluk-Tschaud (Trilokchand).	400
Jakoet-Beg (Yakut Beg)	400
Three other Lords commanded each two hundred Horse.....	600

Aganour, Chabonecan, Babouchan,

Seid-Camel, Sidiali, and Sadaed-Chan, each

five hundred Horse.	3000
So that this Body consisted of	28,000

The third Body, under the Command of Raja Gedsing, consisted of the following Regiments:

Raja-Gedsing (Jaisinha).	3000
Raja-Bideldas.....	3000
Oderam (Uderam)	3000
Raja-Biemsor (Bhimsen)	2000
Madosing, Son of Ram Rattung (Madhusinha)...	1000
Raja-Ros-Assou.	1000
Badouria Raja-Bhozo (Bhoj).....	1000
Raja-Kristensing (Krishnasinha)	1000
Raja-Sour.	1000
Raja-Chettersing (Chhatrasinha)	500
Wauroup.	500
Raja-Odasing (Udai Sinha).....	5000
And under several other Rajas	4500

That Brigade, which was about the Kings Person at Barampour, and to be as it were a Reserve, consisted of one and forty thousand Horse; to wit,

Haddis and Berken-Dasse.....	15,000
Asaf-Chan.	5000
Rauratti.	4000

Wasir-Chan.	3000
Mobat-Chan.	3000
Godia Abdul Hessen.	3000
Astel-Chan.	2000
Serdar-Chan.	2005
Raja-Jessing.	2000
Feddey-Chan (Fidh Khan).	1000
Jaffer.	1000
Mockly-Chan.	1000
Serif-Chan.	1000
Seid-Chan.	1000
Amiral.	1000
Raja Ramdas.	1000
Tork Taes-Chan.	1000
Mier Jemla.	1000
Myrsa Abdulac.	500
Muhmud-Chan.	500
Myrsa Maant Cher.	500
Ghawaes-Chan.	1000
Moried-Chan.	1000
And under the Command of several other Lords, of their quality, whom they call Ommeraudes.	10,000
The total of the Horse ¹	62,500

APPENDIX VII

(See p. 85 supra)

The Dutch records on the extinction of the Nizam Shahi

"The said Mogul further intended to make war with the Decan to bring this country under his obedience and had left with his army for Barampour." ²

"Further that His Majesty had proceeded with a mighty army from Agra to Doltabath, where he still stayed. There was no certainty yet what the object was, but there

1. Mandelslo's Travels into the E. Indies. Pp. 39-40.

2. Dagh - Register 1636. P. 50.

were rumours that the king had already taken possession of the countries of the kings of Golconda and Vissapour without striking a blow and had sent his governors there as viceroys and had given the said kings a pension.”¹

“From Danou the six Portuguese galleons (together having 230 big guns and 1700 men amongst which many were ill) went to *Bombaij*, in order to spend the winter there and to watch the movements of the Mogol. They were afraid that he might attack their fortresses in Bassijn and Chaul, because he kept a big army in those districts and they were also afraid that we might make an alliance with the Mogol.

The Mogol still stays in Doltabath and has three armies in the field, viz. two sent to Visiapore to attack that state from two sides and to bring it to his obedience, and another army sent to the Deccan to make his youngest son (whom he has made governor there) take possession of that country. The King of Golconda has willingly submitted to the Mogol giving a big present, and remains in his kingdom. The King of Visiapore has also offered this, but Sja Jean would not accept any reasonable conditions and detained the Visiapore ambassador. In the meantime the King of Visiapore had also come into the field with a mighty army, had but to fight one of the Mogol's armies, killed many and had taken 6 or 7 Mogol leaders as prisoners to Visiapour.”²

“The great Mogol still stays in Doltabat and there are persistent rumours that he has made a contract with the King of Visiapour, whereby the latter would pay him 50, 00,000 ropias in gold and jewels, but this has not been confirmed.” (Dagh-Register 1636. P. 273.)

The merchandise and spices had not been sold since September, on account of the unsafe roads between Golconda and Berampour, which were continually occupied by the Mogul and had not yet been opened; and they remained warehoused, although there were plenty of merchants in Masilipatan with much money who would not probably buy if the roads and by-roads were open.

1. Dagh-Register 1636. P. 114.

2. do. do. 1636. P. 250.

The king of Golconda, from whom the Mogul king of Induratan had asked a tribute of 900,000 pagodas, had already paid to His Majesty 500,000 pagodas, viz. 300,000 in cash and 200,000 in diamonds.¹

"The two vessels had tested the river *Dabul* and found it to be 18 fathoms deep when coming in at half tide, and 6, 7 or 8 fathoms further up, and they found it capable of sheltering a thousand ships without seeing the sea."²

"In the Guzerat Districts no particular changes had occurred. The king has defeated the rebellious ragic's Jougurat, has conquered the whole of his country and has subdued the whole of Deccan. He has appointed his son viceroy in Delatalath, has received big tributes from the kings of Golconda and Vidjapour, from the defeated ragic Sjeugurat and from Deccan, altogether amounting to about 200 lakhs of 100,000 rupees per lakh. He set out victorious from Delatalath to Mandu and from there to Agra."³

"In *Dabul*, which had been such a flourishing place but had suffered severely from epidemics and had declined very much as a mercantile town, Mr. Van Twist could not find merchants, who could buy such a big cargo as he had brought or even part of it, and he therefore sent the ship and the yacht back to Goa with some cows and other refreshments for strengthening the fleet."⁴

APPENDIX VIII

(See p. 136 supra)

Shivaji's letter to Shahji

"In your last letter you wrote to me as follows:—

Far from helping the cause of his faith, Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol became party to the insidious schemes of the Mahomedans and Turks, and by foul and treacherous means

1. Dagh-Register 1631-1634. P. 241.
2. Dagh-Register. 1637. P. 75.
3. Ibid P. 106.
4. Ibid P. 254.

he brought us to Bijapur. What terrible danger faced us there, you well know. It seems that the Almighty has in his infinite wisdom decided to carry out your aspirations, to establish the Maratha power and protect the Hindu religion. Therefore it was that the peril was averted.

At present, inspired by malignant motives, Khawas Khan has marched against you, and ready to serve him Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol and Lakham Savant and Khem Savant are with him. May God Shankar (Shiva) and Goddess Bhavani grant success to you.

Now it is our desire that we should be fully revenged upon them and as we are fortunate to have such an obedient son, ready to carry out the wishes of his father, we command you to do this work. Baji Ghorpade has gone ahead to Mudhol with his men."

On hearing this from you, we went with an army to Mudhol, left the territory in ruin and took his thanas (garrisons). On learning this, Baji Ghorpade gave battle to us, in which he with other notable men fell. It was a great battle. We marched up and down the country and plundered it. Our gain on this occasion was enormous. We then proclaimed peace and brought the territory under our control. At this time Khawas Khan was coming upon us. With our army we fell upon him, defeating him and turning him back sad and despondent to Bijapur. Our next work was to crush the Savants. Fort after fort came into our possession. On we went, completely devastating their territory. They ceased to receive help from Goa, but the killedars of Phonda fought for them. By means of explosives, we blew up one of the bastions of the fort. Thus we became masters of their territory.

We next turned our arms against the Portuguese and took a part of their territory. They sued for peace and presented us with guns. The Savants could no longer consider themselves safe in Portuguese territory. For they sent one Pitambar as their Vakil to us. "We are," they pleaded, "likewise the descendants of the house of Bhosle and you ought to care for our interest. You should take half the revenue of our possession and the other half we shall

devote to the expenses of our troops with which we shall serve you. Their requests are granted. Thus it is by your blessings that everything ended as you desired and I have great pleasure in submitting this account to you.¹

APPENDIX IX

Ruling Dynasties of the Deccan

(1) The Bahmani Kings

Year of accession		Year of accession	
1347	Ala-ud-din Bahmani I.	1435	Ala-ud-din II.
1358	Muhammad I.	1457	Humayun Shah Zalim.
1375	Mujahid Shah.	1461	Nizam Shah
1378	Daud ..	1463	Muhammad Shah
1378	Mahmud ..	1482	Mahmud .. II.
1397	Ghiyas-ud-din.	1518	Ahmad .. II.
1397	Shams-ud-din	1520	Ala-ud-din III.
1397	Firoz Shah	1522	Wali-Ullah Shah.
1422	Ahmad .. I.	1526	Kalim Ullah ..

(2) The Adil Shahs of Bijapur

1490	Yusuf Adil Shah	1580	Ibrahim Adil Shah II.
1510	Ismail	1627	Muhammad Adil Shah
1534	Malu	1656	Ali Adil Shah II.
1535	Ibrahim I.	1673-85	Sikandar Adil Shah.
1557	Ali Adil Shah I.		

(3) The Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar

1490	Ahmad Shah	1595	Ibrahim Shah
1508	Burhan Shah I.	1595	Ahmad .. II.
1533	Hussain Shah	1596	Bahadur ..
1565	Murtaza ..	1600	Murtaza .. II.
1588	Miran ..	1631-33	Hussain Shah II.
1589	Ismail ..	1633-36	Murtaza N. Shah
1599	Burhan .. II.		III.

1. *A History of the Maratha People Ancient and Modern*, Vol. I, p. 172.

(4) The Qutb Shahs of Golconda

1512	Quli Qutb Shah	1580	Muhmammad Quli Shah
1543	Jamshid „	1612	Muhammad Shah
1550	Subhan Quli „	1626	Abdullah „
1550	Ibrahim „	1672-87	Abul Hassan Shah

(5) The Rulers of Ikkeri-Bednur

1.	Chaudappa Nayak, son of Hulibailu Basappa	1499-1513
2.	Sadasiva „ son of 1..... 1513-1545
3.	Sankanna „ I, son of 2..... 1545-1558
4.	Sankanna „ II, younger brother of 3.	1558-1570
5.	Ramaraja „ son of 3. 1570-1582
6.	Venkappa „ I, younger brother of 5. ..	1582-1629
7.	Virbhadra „ grandson of 6, and son of Bhadrappa Nayak.	1629-1645
8.	Sivappa „ grandson of 4, and son of Siddappa Nayak.....	1645-1660
9.	Venkatappa „ II, younger brother of 8.....	1660-1661
10.	Bhadrappa „ son of 8.	... 1661-1663
11.	Somasekhara „ I, younger brother of 10.	1663-1671
12.	Channamaji, * widow of 11.....	1671-1697

* Mysore and Coorg. P. 157. Mysore Gaz. II. P. 432; Sarkar observes that Shivappa ruled from 1618 to 1662. He is wrong in the light of this genealogy. Several English letters mention Shivappa living in 1662. (Pp. 82, 83, 95, 99. Shivaji the Great Vol. I.) Ventappa (Venkatappa) is said to rule for one year in this genealogy, but from the Dagh-Register he appears to have reigned for two years. Ali Adil Shah really advanced against Bhadrappa and not Shivappa. I too have mentioned the latter on the basis of the English letters. The Dutch documents reproduced on pages 99-100 of Vol. I clearly state that Ali Adil Shah advanced against Bhadrappa. It is confirmed by the Basatin-i-Salatin. Pp. 299-300. Cf. Mysore Gaz. P. 434. This Bhadrappa was succeeded by his brother Somasekhara in 1663 and the latter by Channamaji in 1671.

(1) THE DEED OF PARTITION,

Raja Sahajee Bhonsla recently represented to the lofty Court that the grandson of Cholraj Raja, Prataprao Ghorpade Bahadur, has by force withheld his half share from ancient times in the Mudhol Jagir, the townships of Pargana Ben and the forts therein and the possessions in Karad; also no share is given to Rao Malojee, the grandson of Vallabhasing. But he has given a share to Mansing and Ambaji in the villages of Mudhol, hence his (Shahaji's) own share and that of Malojee, the grandson of Vallabhasing, be granted by the holy Sarkar. This representation has been considered by our holy Great Mind and our attention has been drawn to it, for it is a matter of our Imperial policy to see that the requirements of this honest and obedient ancient house are provided for; this has ever been our policy in accordance to which the following agreeable Firman is issued: Raja Prataprao, the grandson of Raja Cholraj, should feel himself satisfied with Mudhol with the 84 Moujas (towns or villages) and the Pargana of Torgal and half the township of the family possessions of Karnatak and Karad and the command and rank of 7,000. Raja Sahajee should have half the villages of Pargana Ben and 26 townships of Karad and half the family possessions in the Karnatik as his portions with the rank and command of 5,000, and Malojee, the son of Bhairava-sing, the son of Valabhasingh, has been granted 30 villages in the neighbourhood of Vijayanagar with the command of 2,000. Separate Sanads have been issued. From this all the members of the family should be satisfied

with the liberal grants conferred and they should be all attention to the welfare of the ever-increasing Empire and the services pertaining to it

Dated 1047 Shuhur=1056 A.H. or 19th August 1646 A.D.

**(2) BAJI GHORPADE MADE VAZIR AND COMMANDER OF 7000.
NO MORE PARTITION.**

Bismillah-ir-Rahiman-ir-Rahim
Shaheddin Muhammad Ibrahim.

Rao Raje Bajirao Bahadur, Officer Commanding, being under Royal favour should note this that at the present juncture your father the repository of our confidence was killed on account of the intrigues of some of our courtiers. This has worked upon our mind and has created great inconvenience. Your ancestors have been faithfully serving the Empire regardless of the amount of trouble since the time of the Bahamani Badashahs to this present day, and your family has ever been enjoying our trust and confidence. Hence being aware of the fact that you are deserving our Royal favour, the rank of the Commander of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and all the territory held in connection with it and the half share of the Jagir in the Karnatik and Ben Pargana that was continued in your branch has been as in olden times granted and continued to you; along with it you are also invested with the office of a Vazir. Henceforth to avoid disputes in future no Jahgirs will be granted to any of your kinsmen or partners adjoining to or in the neighbourhood of Anagundi (Vijayanagar) and Kampli

where your Jagirs are situated. You should be pleased with Royal favour and be diligent to your duties.

19 Shaban al-muazzam San Saba and Khamsen and Alaf. (Shuhur 1057).¹

(*Banda Sultan Muhammad*)

(3) **YASHWANTRAO WADWE TO ASSIST SHAHJI MAHARAJ
IN THE KARNATIC.**

The auspicious farman has acquired the honour of being issued that Mashhur-ud-Dawla (famous in the Sovereignty) Yashwanturao, being strengthened and hopeful by the extremeless imperial kindnesses, may know that the Nawab with (a court worthy of the angles) the thresholds as high as the sky—having the Magnanimity of the sky, pivot of the kingdom, the asylum of authority and rule, the support of glory and grandeur, strengthener of the regulations of success, establisher of the customs of kingship, highly honoured moon of fame, gem of the mine of prosperity, accepted by the great Sultans, famous amongst the respected nobles, strengthener of the foundations of Caliphate, possessor of the rank of Asaf, wisdom of Aristotle, reason of Plato, insight of Ptolemy, distinguished prime minister, honoured, generous and obliger, the gem of the ring of position and pomp, a statesman of the climes of the earths, a pearl of the ocean of liberality, centre of the circle of existence, the place of the rising of the sun of perfection, source of the help of All-Glory, Cultivator of the

1. It means 1067 A. H. or 23 May 1657 A. D.

garden (?) of creation, light of these cket of sight, sun of the sky of greatness, star of the zodiacal sign of greatness, hoister of the banners of the exaltation of ranks, decorator of the signs (?) or the dignity of eulogies, the best couplet of the ode of mankind, the centre of the circle of kindness and obligation (?), model for the exalted nobles, the purest and best among the great and renowned persons of the age, means of safety and peace, gracious and high-titled Nawab Khan Baba has written to him that he should go to the Jangmakanvi pass (?) with a party of soldiers and followers, join the support of honour and bravery, the chief of the faithful well-wishers, model for the well-meaning loyal persons, the best amongst the tribes and brethren, the purest and best amongst the peers and contemporaries, pillar of the powerful government, Maharaj, our son (?) Shahji Bhonsla, and being sincere and harmonious with the Maharaj, should give expression to the signs of loyalty. It is incumbent upon him not to trespass the order of the above-mentioned eminent Nawab to the extent of a hair-tip even. He should betake himself to the Maharaj very quickly and in this he should think that his honour will be increased. Written on 25th Zu-hijjeh, 1057 A. H. (11th January 1648 A. D.)

(4) BAJI GHORPADE--A MARTYR.

In the name of the compassionate and merciful God. The Kingdom
belongs to God.

An ink seal as follows.

*Najaf Shah, a devoted servant of the valiant king Ali,
the son of Sultan Muhammad Shah.*

(This) auspicious (royal) farman (has) obtained the

honour of being issued (to) the one possessed of bravery and heroism, Maloji Raja Bahadur Ghorpaday of the Adil Shahi. From (one of) the months of the year one thousand and sixty-eight of Shuhur san (1068 Shuhur= 1668 A. D.), (upto) this time it has become manifest in the exalted court of the asylum of the world as follows:—Your father Baji Raja Ghorpaday of the Adil Shahi, possessed of bravery and heroism, with (good) faith of heart (sincerity) served the special (? noble) and illustrious Sarkar bearing the marks of bounty, for many days. And a dispute and fight also took place between the supreme (and) most holy Sarkar and *Shivaji Raja Bhonsle*; *in the fight your father having displayed gallantry and heroism and self-sacrifice, and having (thus proved himself) useful in every respect to the most holy Sarkar, died like a martyr.* In former times there was a Jagir held by him. For these reasons, we, having shown you perfect kindness, (and) having been pleased to direct our attention to the former services, *have exempted (you) from service and* have been pleased to confer (on you) five parganas:—(namely) Mudhol, Jamgay, Dohulesar, Macheknur and Lokapur; (in) all five parganas *as Inam*, the grant being (made) by the presence (which) is full of light and which affords protection to the people by way of Royal favour and excess of kingly kindness, i. e., we have been pleased *to give the same (as) Inam (to you) in perpetuity.* It is proper that you and your children and grand children (from) back to back (i. e. generation to generation), having taken (said) Inam in your possession,

should remain pleased. Accordingly, for each of the five parganas, a separate stringent farman has been caused to be given ' Written on the 15th day of Jamadi-ul-akhir in the holy Hijri year 1081. (20th October 1670 A. D.)

(Seals follow)

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